WHEN THE MILES CAME:
LAND AND SOCIAL ORDER IN BUGANDA, 1850-1928

By

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1997

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I want to thank many Baganda, now in the realm of ancestors, who cared passionately about events in their kingdom, and made the effort to write about their own lives, to record successions, to write down in detail the arguments in a case, and to remember events in songs or sayings. I have relied on people's clear perceptions of how their society was changing with the coming of British overrule, and their brilliantly incisive criticisms of those changes. The Ganda thinkers who left their ideas where they could be found a few generations later have given my story both its structure and its life.

My second debt is to the scholars who have shaped my development as a historian. I am immensely grateful to Steven Feierman, who in his own work and in his interaction with me about mine gave me the tools to consider social change in the past. I want to thank David Schoenbrun, not only for making concrete the early history of the Great Lakes region, but also for asking me hard questions in a way that inspired confidence that I might be able to answer them. In his own teaching and also in his untiring efforts to bring scholars of Africa to the University of Florida, R. Hunt Davis created the learning environment which I enjoyed so much. I also appreciate the contributions of the members of my committee who were not African historians--Murdo M. MacLeod, Sheryl Kroen, Abe Goldman, and, at earlier stages, Goran Hyden, Carol Lansing, and Jeffrey Needell.

I am also thoroughly indebted to historians of Buganda whom I have encountered primarily through their written work. M.S.M. Semakula Kiwanuka's works on Ganda history have been my reference companions. Anthony Low's edited volume on Buganda thought gave me the idea for my topic, and John Rowe's vivid and insightful view of nineteenth century Buganda taught me how to pursue it. The clarity and rich detail of Michael Twaddle's biography of Kakungulu and Michael Wright's history of the civil war gave me entry into this difficult period of Ganda history. Henry W. West's precise and thorough explanations of what happened with land in Buganda were the keys that unlocked sources that would otherwise have been impossible to understand.

I could not have produced this dissertation without the generosity of other scholars of Uganda who shared source materials that were no longer traceable in Uganda. Foremost among these is John Rowe, whose work collecting archives in the early 1960s is evident to anyone who uses the Africana Collection at Makerere University Library; Professor Rowe graciously allowed me to look at his copy of the records of the Lukiko and his translations of the Ekitabo kya Kika kya Nsenene, and gave me a copy of the rare, privately circulated pamphlet "The Bataka Land Holding Question." Richard Waller gave me a copy of his unpublished S.O.A.S. Master's paper, and shared research notes. Glenn McKnight shared information on the Butaka controversy from files which had been misplaced in the Entebbe Secretariat Archives before I arrived there; I have also benefitted from materials directed to me by Mikael Karlstrom and Michael Tuck.

I am grateful to the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology for permission to do research in Uganda, and to the Makerere Institute of Social Resarch for

providing me with an academic home. Innumerable people in Uganda received me with kindness and facilitated my work: among them were Christine Deborah Sengendo, Nakanyike and Ssegane Musisi, Judy Butterman, Mark Markwardt, the staff of the Africana Collection at Makerere University Library, the staff of the Mailo Land office, and the staffs of various courts. Anke Alemayehu, Rod and Dawn Belcher, Elizabeth Kharono, and others welcomed me and my children in ways we will never forget.

I received research support from the Fulbright Fellowship program of the International Institute of Education, and from the University of Florida I received a Center for African Studies pre-dissertation research grant, a College of Liberal Arts and Sciences Dissertation Fellowship, a Ruth McQuown Fellowship, and Department of History travel funding.

I am deeply grateful to Kathryn Burns, Jan Shetler, Peter Von Doepp, Kiran Asher, Marcia Good Maust, Rebecca Karl, Tracy Baton, and others for their steady encouragement, and for helping me connect intellectual endeavor with the rest of life. I want to thank my family for giving me models of engaged scholarship. The support of my religious community --including Margaret Mattinson, Joanne Schwandes, Harriet and Sam Stafford, Jeanne and Jose Diaz, and many others--allowed me to meet the needs of my children and the deadlines of graduate school at the same time. Finally, I want to acknowledge my children, Corin Olinga Vick and Rebecca Margaret Vick, who avoided stepping on all the papers on the floor for many years, and who moved to Uganda and back in the middle of secondary school. I thank them for their courage, fortitude, grace, and good humor.

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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December 1997

Chairman: Steven Feierman
Major Department: History

The dissertation examines social change in the East African kingdom of Buganda in the decades preceding and following British colonial intervention, using documentation generated by an abrupt transformation in the pattern of land ownership in 1900. In considering the period of early Ganda/British interaction primarily from the perspective of Ganda written records and Ganda institutions, it challenges commonly held perceptions regarding colonialism and economic transformation in Africa. Ganda leaders interacted with British officials with expectations of mutual respect, incorporated new social forms such as private land ownership into Ganda structures of authority, and resisted the commodification of social relationships even as they adopted wage labor and commercialization of trade.

The dissertation identifies the political and social relationships encoded in land control before the mid-nineteenth century, arguing that Buganda was not a centralized despotism, but rather that overlapping and diffuse forms of authority characterized the kingdom prior to that time. Long distance trade in ivory and slaves undermined Ganda forms of authority, leading to a prolonged period of civil war. The dissertation asserts that this conflict ended not through British intervention, but when Ganda chiefs re-ordered the kingdom by associating control over land with religious allegiance.

The dissertation argues that class distinctions in Buganda did not emerge as a result of the creation of private land ownership: the chiefs who became land owners initially attempted to maintain relationships of mutual social obligation with the followers who became their tenants. Instead, new kinds of social distinctions emerged as a result of the excessive labor demands of colonial authorities, which altered the relationship of chiefs to followers. The dissertation demonstrates that the passionate protest against mailo (privately owned) land in the 1920s known as the "Butaka Controversy" was a direct critique of the new colonial order. The complainants asked for the restoration of all the positions of authority that had characterized Buganda in the past, and described commodified social relations as a form of enslavement.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Lush banana gardens support the dense population of the ridges on the northern edge of the great East African inland sea, where the Buganda kingdom emerged about five hundred years ago. People used this fertile land not only to produce the means of their subsistence, but also to define relationships between people in the kingdom. Ceremonies of "showing the land" cemented the connection of wives to husbands, of followers to chiefs, and of regional leaders to the kabaka, the king of Buganda. Neighbors and their children gathered to witness when a newcomer was "shown the land." A bark cloth tree was planted, intermediaries received gifts, and children planted bushes that indicated the borders of the granted land. In Buganda, the power to allocate land meant power to rule the people who cultivated the banana gardens on that land, and each person who had the power to grant land had a place in the complex web of authority. More important ceremonies, carried out by a designated messenger of the ruling kabaka, marked a kabaka's decision to give power--and land--to one subordinate and to take it away from someone else.

A unique and profoundly significant series of ceremonies "showing the land" occurred in every part of Buganda in 1900 and immediately thereafter. In the aftermath of the protracted war that followed Buganda's involvement in long distance trade in ivory,

slaves, and guns, the victorious Christian chiefs and their British allies had agreed to re-allocate the land of the kingdom. In Ganda terms, new controllers of land logically followed new alignments of power. This time, however, the victorious chiefs (not the kabaka, then an infant) had made the allocations, and they had agreed to give half the land to the British, after all "ruling chiefs and notables" of Buganda had received their share. The leading Christian chiefs gave themselves the largest amounts of land and people, but took care to give estates of land varying in size from one to twenty square miles to almost four thousand other chiefs and figures of authority in Buganda. Since the British wanted to secure their portion of the land as a potential means of attracting European settlers and making a profit for their fledgling colonial endeavor, they insisted that the new allocations be marked and measured following European practices of landed property, as well as Ganda practices of "showing the land."[1] People called the land allocated in this way mailo (estates of land measured in square miles). Mailo land had implications beyond demonstrating a shift in the hierarchy of power in Buganda. Although Baganda giving and receiving mailo did not recognize it at the time, the new rituals for land allocation, including land surveys, the distribution of certificates, and writing names in the land registry, gave mailo the characteristics of private property, and this permanently foreclosed the possibility that any future kabaka might manage shifting power alliances by making new assignments of land.

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[1]After waiting fifteen years for their turn to choose, the British got swampy lowlands, rocky hilltops, and Buganda's least arable land.

In creating mailo, Ganda chiefs and British colonial officers supported each other because they agreed on the importance of asserting their control over the land. Neither the Ganda nor the British recognized, in 1900, the huge gap in their intentions for the use of that land. The ruling Ganda chiefs focused on inscribing the new order of power, with themselves at the top, in the familiar form of chiefly control over land. The British focused on the creation of protectable private property, and on obtaining a share themselves. The coalescence of these two fundamentally different concerns generated unusually rich sources for African social history, ones that provide insight into the structures of an east African society before the tumultuous changes of the late nineteenth century. The documentation of mailo land contains types of information that are difficult to recapture from oral historical narratives.

The chiefs' distribution of land articulated their perception of the structures of power in Buganda, because they attempted to allot a mailo estate to each person in authority. Their decisions were recorded with due solemnity on land certificates, surveyors' maps, and land registry lists. Those who felt their authority merited estates and who had not received them immediately attacked the mailo allocation with statements explaining their right to land and power based on generations of remembered clan or family history. The British protectorate carefully recorded these counterclaims. Twenty years later, Ganda social discontent crystallized in a tumultuous public protest about mailo land. The culmination of this protest was a public enquiry under British colonial auspices in which people explained what Ganda society had been like in the past in order to prove

that the allocation of land--and the organization of society--had been utterly corrupted by mailo. Their thorough critique of the consequences of colonial involvement in Buganda received a full hearing under British colonial auspices because British authorities felt obliged to investigate claims that involved the violation of property rights.

This dissertation uses Ganda actions regarding land to perceive social change in the kingdom at a crucial period in its history. It traces the outlines of the relationships which people had encoded in control of land, observes the impact on those relationships of Buganda's nineteenth century crisis in authority, and records the transformation of those relationships under the impact of British colonial demands for labor, tax, and obedience. Since Ganda chiefs, followers, and clan leaders made the decisions about land, my strategy focuses attention on Ganda ideas and Ganda intellectual endeavor. The dissertation discusses Ganda notions of the proper way to organize society, the creativity of Ganda leaders who used land allocation to re-create order during and after the seemingly interminable war of the late nineteenth century, and Ganda ability to integrate new and old ways of thinking when people chose to involve themselves with the British. By paying attention to the meaning of land, it is possible to see the 1920s conflict over land as an articulate Ganda assessment of the failures of British colonial intervention. In a sense, this is an intellectual history of Ganda use of the idiom of land as power.

My conclusions about the Buganda polity are quite different from those of most published histories of Buganda. Those works, based on research carried out during the transition from colonial rule to independence, emphasized the consolidation of central

power in the hands of kabakas, and argued that the militarism of Buganda in the late nineteenth century had characterized the kingdom for several preceding generations. In Chapter Two, I use clan histories, Ganda epic tradition, claims regarding land in the 1880s and other late 19th and early 20th century sources to argue that power in Buganda was diffused through a layered network of multiple forms of authority. I argue that the coexistence of overlapping forms of authority in the 19th century indicates a tendency to avoid conflict and seek compromise as Buganda institutions developed, and that people who held office oriented themselves to each other as well as to the king.

In Chapter Three, I describe the collapse of Ganda structures of authority in the nineteenth century. Building on recent scholarship which identifies the introduction of caravan trading in ivory, guns and slaves as a transforming crisis for East African polities, I interpret the actions of nineteenth century kabakas as attempts to regain authority they had lost because of the fundamental disruptions initiated by the caravan trade. Using testimony of participants and a close reading of the records of Captain Lugard (who has hitherto gotten credit), I argue that Ganda chiefs ended civil war and reimposed order in their country through incorporating new religions in the arrangement of control over Buganda's ten provinces.

Using land allocation to understand social relationships also generates a new way of looking at the causes of the drastic social changes that occurred in Buganda in the early 20th century. Mailo land owners have been blamed for the emergence of vast differences in social class that happened at that time. One version of the story is that scheming, selfish

chiefs sold the nation to the British in return for huge estates of mailo land, and the masses who were not granted mailo land were shut out from the means of personal advancement. British Protectorate officials themselves accused the mailo owners of laziness and greed because they lived off the rents of their tenants instead of turning their land into profitable plantations. These explanations fail to consider the logical motivations Ganda chiefs might have had for re-allocating land, and later for refusing to turn their followers into wage laborers, as the Protectorate officials wanted them to do. Also, the story of greedy landlords leaves out the consequences for Baganda of British colonial exactions of labor and tax.

In order to develop a more complete understanding of the consequences of mailo, it is necessary to keep in mind that all interactions involving productive resources have both economic and social (moral) components. People in Buganda produced bananas and other foods and manufactured goods in order to survive, but Baganda did not emphasize the economic aspect of production in their explanations of their society. Until the early twentieth century, Ganda production almost invariably had meanings and utility beyond the provision of subsistence: the production of things created and demonstrated connections between groups of people. British colonial officers arrived with a different way of thinking about production. Colonial decision-makers in Buganda attended to the economic dimensions of production and ignored the social ones. For most of the colonial era, British employers insisted that work was a purely economic transaction even when doing so drove workers away from their plantations and factories by the thousands.

Baganda, including mailo owners, did not stop seeing social obligations inherent in control of land even when the land came with a certificate of ownership. I argue that in 1900 chiefs wanted the authority and prestige that came from having followers, and the allocation of mailo land was a statement of a new order of power in the kingdom, not a pre-emptive grab for resources that would soon have economic value. The labor demands that made life unbearable came from colonial exactions of one to two months' labor for tax and one month's obligatory labor on top of the obligations of tribute and labor for chiefs and the kabaka. Chapter Four describes the decisions made by Ganda chiefs in allocating mailo, and their attempt to include important meanings, such as the continuing power of deceased Kabakas, in the form of private property. Chapter Five outlines the effects of excessive labor demands on the relationship of chiefs to followers, and suggests that class differences emerged in Buganda as people with school-taught skills obtained exemptions from obligatory labor.

The massive social protest in the 1920s, known as the Butaka controversy, has been understood as a further working out of the centralizing tendency in Buganda political development. In this view, the protestors were disgruntled clan elders complaining about having lost land to the chiefs appointed by the kabaka. A careful examination of the records of the 1920s dispute over mailo land suggests that much more was going on. The complainants were not only clan elders, but also all the other kinds of people who had had authority in pre-colonial Buganda, and whose authority had diminished under the regime of mailo. They asked for the return of butaka (clan graveyards) and their other lands, but

they also asked for the restoration of all the positions of authority and the patterns of decision-making that had characterized Buganda in the past. Chapter Six documents the participants in the case against mailo, and explains how their incisive critique of colonial power was misunderstood as an argument about graveyards. Chapter Seven explores the arguments made by the Ganda leaders who brought the case against mailo. They wanted a return of the Ganda pattern of rule which had more positions of authority, more participants in decision making, and more compromise. They claimed that their children were "enslaved" by the commodification of social relationships, and stated that people in power ought to consider the well-being of the people they were ruling. They claimed that progress would be most effective if it incorporated "the good customs of Buganda," and if change happened slowly. The epilogue sketches why these aspirations could not be met, describes the Busulu and Nvujjo law of 1928 which defined the Ganda obligations of chiefs to followers in cash terms, and shows how Baganda retained their expectations regarding land and social obligation as the cash economy developed.

The sources I have used to examine the intellectual creativity of Baganda who reshaped their social institutions to make them work in new circumstances could also answer other interesting historical questions. The specific controllers of land before the time of mailo are discernible in Ganda epic tradition and in statements by clan elders and others who disputed the mailo allocation. These might contribute to an elaboration of Ganda history from the beginning of the kingdom until 1800. Who received mailo, and who it was passed down to, was recorded in carefully filed provisional and final

certificates of ownership in the Land Registry Office, in the Ekitabo kya Obusika (Book of Succession) of the Buganda kingdom, and in land survey maps made between 1908 and 1914. These documents could be used to answer fascinating questions about the origins of a land market: what land was sold, and what land was not sold, and why? The ways that people infused meaning into plots of land can be glimpsed in scattered explanations of events in the epic tradition, in the chronicles of 19th century events written by Miti, Kaggwa, and Nsimbi, in reports of 19th century travellers and in the ethnographic works of Roscoe and Mair. Records of land cases heard in district level courts between 1910 and 1970 contain transcriptions of pointed arguments between litigants concerning their mutual obligations in relationships mediated by land. In fieldwork in Uganda in 1993 and 1995, I participated in occasions of "showing the land" and listened to people's stories of the history of their land. These sources could be used to extend a study of social transformation in Buganda from 1928 until the present.

It is important to point out that my work takes place in a context in which people ask different kinds of questions of the past than the first generation of historians of Buganda. In the 1950s the semi-autonomous Buganda kingdom ran smoothly, managed from the imposing Lukiko (parliament) building by clerks with typewriters, and the Lukiko itself deliberated in a room with Westminster-like benches. Writing as the colonial era drew to a close, historians saw in the Buganda past a progressive centralization and bureaucratization which had allowed the kingdom to advance. Whether they intended to or not, their story of Buganda offered the suggestion that African nations might become

more modern through the imposition of strong central control. In contrast, this history of Buganda is written against a backdrop of decades of civil unrest and anxiety about African governance. It may not be a coincidence (although it was not my intention) that my story of Buganda describes institutions that once created civil order but have been irretrievably lost.

CHAPTER TWO
BANANA GARDENS AND THE PURPOSES OF PRODUCTION

Ganda banana gardens were shady and cool, they produced lots of food, and the spirits of ancestors hovered in the play of light and shadow among the trees. In the nineteenth century, and for several hundred years before that, dark green banana gardens covered the middle heights of the hills and ridges in the region north of the great East African inland sea, the Nyanza. In these gardens, married women grew the food that fed their families, and in household compounds their husbands made the beer and barkcloth the family owed to a chief for the use of the land. In particular banana gardens, people gathered at the graves of lineage ancestors for ceremonies marking birth, growth, death, and inheritance. The gardens also supported the people who moved along the wide, straight roads from compounds of chiefs to the center of the kingdom, offering tribute and labor to the king and to the other powerful figures whose authority contributed to the rule of the land.

For more than a thousand years before the Buganda kingdom emerged, people living around the Nyanza had sustained themselves through a mixed agricultural system of cultivating grains and yams, herding cattle, and fishing. Then, during the period from 900 and 1200 AD, environmental stresses caused people to experiment with alternatives to

mixed agriculture, and intensive banana cultivation was one result.[1] The Luganda language broke off from its parent language North Nyanza at some time between 1200 and 1500, which is about the same time period that Ganda epic traditions are assumed to originate. According to Ganda origin myths, Kintu the first man and Nambi the first woman arrived in the land that would become Buganda with the first shoot of a banana tree.

How the people who grew bananas so successfully around the northern rim of the Nyanza created the kingdom of Buganda is a contentious question. In order to discern the early history of the kingdom one must interpret Ganda epic tradition, clan histories, and the placement of clan butaka (burial grounds of important people) on a foundation of awareness of the significance of banana cultivation. Banana cultivation made land more valuable than it had ever been in the past, and the historical linguistic record shows that new social institutions developed as bananas became central to people's subsistence strategies. Historians have come to various conclusions using this evidence. Perhaps Kintu, an immigrant, was the first king. Perhaps there had been five kings before Kintu, all members of Ganda clans. Perhaps Kimera, third in the dynastic list derived from epic tradition, was a Nyoro prince who founded a sub-Bito dynasty; perhaps he was a leader bringing his own followers from the western region.[2]

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[1]David Lee Schoenbrun, A Green Place, A Good Place: A Social History of the Great Lakes Region, Earliest Times to the 15th Century, Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1997, manuscript 295,290, 320. Note that references refer to page numbers in the manuscript, not in the published book.

[2] M.S.M. Semakula Kiwanuka, A History of Buganda from the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900, New York: Africana, 1972, 32, 39-41; Benjamin Ray, Myth, Ritual, and Kingship in Buganda, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, 101; Christopher C. Wrigley, Kingship and state: The Buganda dynasty, Cambridge: University Press, 1996.

However the kingdom originated, over the centuries people in Buganda found ways to organize their lives and relationships with each other that ensured prosperity and cohesion for the kingdom. In this chapter, I argue that two social forms shaped the developing institutions of the kingdom. These were kusenga, the attachment of followers to chiefs who gave them land, and the organization of production for remembering important aspects of the past. Using Ganda epic tradition and information on relationships among various parts of the polity in the mid- to late nineteenth century, I suggest that Baganda used kusenga and the pattern of remembering to create many overlapping forms of authority. As a result, the Buganda kingdom was characterized by both central order and diffuse authority. After describing production in the Ganda household, the nature of kusenga, and patterns of using productive relationships to remember important things, I show how the structures of the Ganda kingdom described in epic tradition combined these forms. In the eighteenth century kabakas began to appoint another kind of chief, the ekitongole; this development of Ganda social forms allowed kabakas to control and manage innovation.

In contrast to the predominant understanding among historians of Buganda as a despotic, highly centralized kingdom, I see the polity as one that had many nodes of power and authority. My conclusions are different because I have chosen to make different interpretations of three important sources of information. First, I have not assumed that nineteenth century travellers' and missionaries' accounts describe long-standing characteristics of the kingdom; those early visitors observed Buganda at a time of violent crisis. It is possible to construct a sense of Ganda social institutions before these

upheavals, which were caused by caravan trading, through a careful use of other sources. Second, I have not accepted at face value one of the pivotal documents used by historians of Buganda in understanding the development of the kingdom.[3] In the huge controversy over the morality of mailo land in the 1920s, which is the subject of Chapters Six and Seven below, Apolo Kaggwa justified his action in taking vast amounts of clan land by arguing that Ganda kings had been taking land away from clans for generations, and therefore his land-grab had merely followed long-established traditions. The group who brought the case against mailo claimed that power relationships in the past had been more fluid and subject to negotiation, and I have attempted to balance Kaggwa's statements about the development of the kingdom with those of his opponents. The third reason that my interpretation of power in Buganda departs from the predominant one is that I have tried to follow the record of exchange--to understand social relationships in Buganda based on how tribute flowed from followers to their superiors. Since some of the recipients of tribute were people whom foreign visitors would probably not have seen as powerful, their role was underemphasized in the descriptions of Buganda provided by missionaries and early colonial officers.

While my information about kusenga, tribute, chiefship, and other forms of authority comes largely from nineteenth and twentieth century sources, some evidence from earlier times confirms my suggestions about Ganda society before the late nineteenth century upheaval. Stories narrated in the Ganda epic tradition impart information about

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[3]I show in Chapter 7 that a memorandum prepared by Apolo Kaggwa for the Butaka Land Commission regarding the relationship of kabakas and clans has been has been adopted uncritically by successive generations of historians of Buganda.

patterns of social interaction in Buganda several hundred years ago. Detailed drawings of the placement of compounds in the capitals of Kabaka Suna (who reigned from 1824 to 1857) and Mutesa (who reigned from 1857 to 1884) provide social maps relevant for an earlier time. David Schoenbrun's study of interlacustrine society until 1500 demonstrates the antiquity and historical antecedents of social institutions and relationships I describe.[4]

Households and Banana Gardens

We can see from more recent descriptions something of the historically-rooted style of marriage and household production in the region. Ganda society was built on households in which women produced food and children and men produced manufactured goods and maintained formal networks of social connections. Near the cool, shaded quiet of each banana garden was the home of the family it supported. A man received a kibanja (a plot of land) from a chief when he wanted to marry, and once the land had been cleared and the banana shoots established, cultivating the growing trees was the responsibility of his wife. In Luganda the verb still used when a man marries is okuwasa, which literally means, "to cause (someone) to peel bananas." The verb used for a woman's marriage is passive, okufumbirwa, and it means "to become the cook (for someone)."[5] Women in Ganda households were responsible for growing bananas and other crops, and for cooking; finding a wife could also be called "finding a hoe."[6] A man brought gifts of

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[4]Schoenbrun, Green Place.

[5] Lucy Mair, Native Marriage in Buganda. IAI Memorandum 19, 1940, 13.

[6]John Roscoe, The Baganda: An Account of their Native Customs and Beliefs, 2nd. ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966 (first ed. 1911), 92; Mair, An African People, 87-88.

barkcloth, beer, and food to his new wife's family to compensate them for the value of the labor that he was taking away. If thereafter a woman objected to the treatment she received from her husband, she returned to the home of her brother. From his home, the possibility of improving the marriage would be negotiated; if that proved impossible, the woman's brother would return the bridewealth to her former husband, and she would stay with her brother. Women who had been given away to chiefs, or captured during raids on Buganda's neighbors, and for whom no bridewealth had been paid, were "wives of the tired hoe," who could not be divorced because there was no bridewealth to return.

Husbands expected wives to produce children as well as food. Women who had been unable to have children were sometimes sent away by their husbands, and a woman might live apart from her husband after her children grew to adulthood.[7] Baganda approved of widows who "remembered" their deceased husbands by continuing to live in the same place, cultivating the same gardens.[8]

Baganda families lived in large circular homes made of neatly trimmed elephant grass, with the roof sloping to the ground. In the same courtyard, there were smaller structures for cooking, for young men to sleep in, and for adult men to gather and talk. Nineteenth century travellers were struck by the sturdy construction and meticulous neatness of Ganda homes, which, at that time, were built in one or two days by

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[7]Jan Bender Shetler observed households of independent barren women in Northern Tanzania, personal communication.

[8]Cf. Buganda Law Reports, Civil Case No 38/46, p.41-44, which excoriates families that disturb widows.

neighborhood work parties.[9] Bark cloth partitions divided a home into separate rooms. The homes in a neighborhood, separated by each family's gardens, stretched along the fertile middle ground of the hills characteristic of Buganda--swampy land at the bottom of the hill was uncultivated. A family's compound was distinguished from that of its neighbors by mpanyi, a border-marking bush that was planted by children during the ceremony in which the family was "shown" the land it was receiving. The street connecting houses in a mitala neighborhood/ridge led to the compound of the chief, the figure of authority who had granted land for cultivation to each of the families in his area, who listened to disputes, and who marshalled the people in his (or her) area for tribute or service to the king.

The Logic of Kusenga: Attaching to a Chief

Kusenga, the act of attaching oneself to a chief, was one of the fundamental forms of social cohesion in Buganda. The particular meaning the word kusenga has in Luganda--indicating an exchange of service, allegiance, and tribute in return for a kibanja (plot of land) and protection--is older than Luganda itself. According to Schoenbrun, the word emerged between 800 and 1000 A.D. in West Nyanza, the ancestral speech community that eventually split into Rutara, (the parent of Lunyoro, Runyankore, Ekihaya, and others) and North Nyanza (the parent of Luganda, Lusoga, Lugwere, and Orusyan). As Schoenbrun explains, "To ask for land, in West Nyanza societies, at the end of the first millennium A.D., was also to enter into a net of social obligations."[10] The mutual

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[9]Mair, 123.

[10]Schoenbrun, MS, 328.

expectations inherent in the kusenga relationship structured the productive activities of Ganda men and women and their aspirations for well-being and prosperity.

Allocation of a kibanja was the critical first element in the kusenga relationship. An oral tradition of the great loyalty of Nkalubo to Kabaka Ndawula, whose reign began sometime around 1700, describes this process. Nkalubo and another person emigrated from Sesse to the mainland, and became the men of a chief named Nawandugu. Nkalubo then decided to leave that chief, and went to serve the kabaka. He was given one plot, but then, because of the respect he showed, he was given a better plot, closer to the king's palace.[11] As a result of his actions on behalf of the kabaka, a chieftainship was created for him, and successors to that chiefship assumed his name as their title of office. The sign of chiefship was control over land that one could allocate to people who would be followers. In the pattern we know from the nineteenth century, a person might attain this status by succeeding to the leadership of a branch of a clan, by appointment to a senior chiefship by the kabaka, or by appointment to a sub-chiefship by a senior chief. Chiefs attracted followers using their ability to allocate land. The Ganda likened chiefship to the light of torches that burned at night. Baganda chiefs were said to initially dismiss paraffin lamps, saying :"what will become of our torches? How will a chief be able to hang onto a torch?

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[11]"There were two brothers who went to live under Nawandugu at Lubu, having immigrated from Sese. Their names were Nkalubo and Miingo. Nkalubo decided to leave Nawandugu and to become the Kabaka's man being presented before the throne by Sewankambo, and receiving plot of land near the palace from the Kabaka then reigning--Ndawula. From day to day Nkalubo paid a visit of respect to the Kabaka and soon he gained favour, the outward sign of which was a new plot nearer to the palace where Sebugwawo now resides." Basekabaka, ms. version at Makerere, p. 73.

Surely it is the lamp-torch which is adhering to the chief?"[12] Chiefs, like torches at night, collected people around them.

After attaining a chiefship, a person might be demoted, but would never be left with no followers.[13] Part of the tremendous emotion attached to the creation of mailo land in 1900 came from the fact that chiefs lost their land, and had to become followers instead if chiefs. One person testified, "I had been a mutaka (a chief by virtue of clan leadership) but I settled down and became his man and cut reeds for him."[14] Another clan elder described how in 1900 he had been "turned out" of the historically important clan land that he had controlled, and had gone to the Lukiko (the assembly of Ganda chiefs, like a parliament) three times for the return of his land but failed to get it. He explained, "so I packed up my belongings and went and settled on the kabaka's land in Kikulu and became a mere peasant."[15]

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[12] Apolo Kaggwa, Ekitabo kya Kika kya Nsenene, Mengo: AK Press, n.d., Manuscript translation of Professor John Rowe, 17.

[13] In the early 20th century, Ganda chiefs tried to explain to British Protectorate officials that retiring a chief to the status of ordinary citizen was really unthinkable. A long correspondence about whether the man who had been an important chief, the Pokino, from the 1890s until 1924 ought to be required to pay tax demonstrates how seriously the Baganda considered this problem, and the failure of the colonial administrators of the 1920s to fathom Ganda political structures. Jarvis, the Governor's secretary, refused to acknowledge that having to pay tax would humiliate the once-great man, "The ex Pokino should be well able to pay the small sum demanded as Poll Tax. Personally I should like to see all exemptions abolished. When a European official retires he is still called upon to pay all his taxes!." ESA, A46/1315, SMP No. 4345.

[14] Commission, 425.

[15] Commission, 458, Pasikale Bambaga.

Although on the surface kusenga may appear similar to feudal relationships in medieval Europe, its workings were very different. The relative abundance of land in relation to people shaped the character of the relationship. The Luganda vocabulary regarding kusenga indicates that people chose to form these relationships, and could also undo them. A follower could kusenga, "join a new master, settle, immigrate," and he could also kusenguka, "leave a master/chief, move away from." A chief could kusenza, "receive (newcomers into an area)," or he could kusengusa, "cause people to move away." Since a chief's standing was dependent on having lots of followers, the terms of kusenga favored the followers. Ganda proverbs speak of followers as people who had choices. "Musenze alanda"--"The follower often changes his master" and "Busenze muguma: bwe bukonnontera n'osongola"--"Service is like the digging stick: when it has become blunt, you point it again."[16] In the late nineteenth century, people left their chief if another chief seemed to present better opportunities; even a page in the kabaka's court could report that he had left his position in the palace because "they ruled him badly."[17]

Baganda described kusenga as beneficial in explanations to early twentieth century ethnographers; clan histories and the recorded epic tradition suggest people perceived balance and mutual benefit in the relationship in earlier periods.[18] The forms of exchange

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[16] Ferdinand Walser, Luganda Proverbs, (Kampala: Mill Hill Missionaries, 1984) proverbs numbered 2938, 1034.

[17] Lubwuma interview, 6/4/1995; Commission, 540, Danieri Serugabi; Kaggwa, Nsenene, 14.

[18] The sense that the relationship between leaders and followers was mutually beneficial has great antiquity: cf. Schoenbrun, ms. 186.

marking kusenga expressed the reciprocity people expected to experience in the relationship.[19] A chief's men built elaborate reed fences that encircled his compound as part of their service to him; a chief protected his men from other powerful people who might claim their labor or service. The chief's representative planted a barkcloth tree as part of the ceremony of "showing the land" in which the follower received his plot of land; the follower then gave back to his chief graceful, dark red cloths made of bark from that tree pounded and stretched in several days' careful labor. Followers took their chief part of every brew of beer they made, and chiefs offered beer to people who came to their compound.[20]

People spoke and wrote about kusenga as an on-going exchange of gifts. Chiefs needed loyal service, and followers who served loyally needed to be rewarded. It is interesting to note that the Ganda epic tradition recalls a chief of Kabaka Tebendeke (the eighteenth Kabaka, who probably ruled just before 1700) who lost his position as keeper of the royal tombs and was killed because he asked too often for gifts, instead of waiting to receive them.[21] Chiefs showed their gratitude to people who served them well with gifts of barkcloth, women, and cattle.[22] Apolo Kaggwa, who held the highest chiefly office,

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[19]Schoenbrun notes that kibanja means both debt and banana plantation, thus revealing "with stark efficiency the elision of inequality with access to land." 312, ms.

[20]Mackay, 197; Roscoe, "Enquiry."

[21] Apolo Kaggwa, Basekabaka be Buganda. Typescript of English translation by Simon Musoke. Africana Collection, Makerere University Library, 58.

[22]A.M. Mackay, Pioneer Missionary of the Church Missionary Society in Uganda, by his sister, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1891, 208-9.

Katikiro (Prime Minister) for forty critical years at the turn of the century, defined the logic of kusenga in his description of the actions of Christian refugees during the wars of 1889. According to Kaggwa, "Kabaka Ntale (king of Ankole) liked us, he gave us many estates and five tusks and about thirty or forty head of cattle." To show their appreciation (and also to further their war aims), the refugees raided Ganda cattle for the Nkole king. They then built Ganda bridges for him over the Luzi river. As a result "we became more loved by Kabaka Ntale who gave us more cattle."[23] In the early twentieth century, people told Lucy Mair that they expected to receive "meat, beer, and politeness" from their chief; and records from the first decades of the century describe a chief giving a favored follower bridewealth contributions and barkcloth on important occasions.[24]

The highest reward a follower could receive was appointment to a subordinate chiefship. Ganda epic tradition describes chiefships that were created as rewards to loyal followers, and the practice did not end with the attempt by British colonial officers to rationalize chiefship.[25] In 1924, the Omuwanika Stanislaus Mugwanya, who had been one of the Regents who received a large amount of land in 1900, made a point of emphasizing his relationship with a person who was testifying against him in the case against mailo. Mugwanya identified the witness as one of his followers, and remarked "You have

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[23]Apollo Kaggwa, Basekabaka bya Buganda, Ms. in Africana Collection, Makerere University Library, 110/149 (double pagination).

[24]Mair, 183; Africana Collection, Makerere University Library, Kaggwa Papers, AR KA 43/52, Sitefano Serwange to Apolo Kaggwa, August 1913.

[25]Kaggwa, Basekabaka ms. version, 74.

cultivated a very nice garden at Buganga for which I thanked you and made you a chief in consequence."[26]

The logic of kusenga, and the bonds it created between Baganda of different statuses, can be glimpsed in a story of the failure of foreigners to understand how they were to behave as part of this system of reciprocal exchange. Sometime in the 1890s, a nine-year-old Ganda boy (who is not named) joined the household of the Protestant missionary C.W. Hattersley. He stayed there working for Hattersley for nine years. When he wanted to marry, he asked the man he had served for assistance in acquiring a plot of land. Hattersley told the young man to ask his father for help, but the young man said (as Hattersley remembered the conversation), "When I came to join your establishment I gave myself entirely to you. Since that time you are my father; I have no other. Were I to apply to my father, he would only refer me to you." Hattersley, however, did not think of himself as obliged to the young man. He had employed him for nine years, and now he was employing other boys, "and with my short pocket I cannot be always helping boys who have left me." He also explained to the young man that if he helped him with the plot of land, the young man would also want help with the dowry, then with wedding clothes, then with the wedding feast. He told the young man "It is very difficult to understand where such requests are going to end." Trying to get Hattersley to recognize his role, the young man explained

> Sir, you altogether fail to understand the customs of the Baganda. Do you not know that the more requests we make the more we show our love for

[26]Commission, 424, Stanislaus Mugwanya.

> you. Were it not that I greatly love you, I would never ask you for a single thing. We never ask anybody we dislike to give us a thing.

The missionary replied, "Perhaps in this particular case less love and fewer requests might suit my pocket better." The young man responded

> Sir, it distresses me much to hear you talk thus. I came to you because you are my father. You have been in Uganda many years, and I thought you knew our customs thoroughly. I hope you will never make such a remark to those who know you less than I do. At present they look upon you as a great friend.[27]

However disappointed the young man might have been in his patron's lack of understanding, he did not give up on the missionary. Several months later, when Hattersley said he hoped the young man would serve as a housemaster at the Mengo High School, his former servant replied, "I have already told you that I am yours; that you are my father and I belong to you. If you say I am to come back and be a master in the High School, it is for you to command and for me to obey."[28] The missionary, along with many other foreigners in Buganda, failed to understand that receiving the service someone offered created a relationship that did not begin and end with the payment of wages.

Production as the Enactment of Meaning

Attaching to a chief through kusenga gave people a material place--a banana plantation to farm, a source of support, and a channel for their ambitions. Another fundamental process connected people to essential metaphysical realities--the act of remembering. In the long history of Buganda, people invested their productive energies in

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[27]C.W. Hattersley, The Baganda at Home, London: Frank Cass and Co, 1968 (first ed. 1908), p., 189-90.

[28]Hattersley, 190.

ways that enabled them to maintain the memory of meaningful people and events. The growing of food, manufacture of goods, and raising of children took place in configurations dedicated to, and named by, things that were important to remember. These acts of remembering had to do with the present and the future: they organized and defined relationships between people, and brought into peoples' lives the protection and assistance of able spiritual resources. One kind of remembering was the connection people maintained with their immediate and distant ancestors in lineage networks and clans. Another kind involved the continuation through generations of exchanges that had once taken place; these reenacted exchanges shaped Buganda as a cohesive entity.

Remembering the Lives of Ancestors

Paths in Buganda took families from their own homes to those of their neighbors, to the compounds of their chief, and also further, to the home of the mutaka (head of a line of descent from a remembered ancestor). In the banana garden of the person who had succeeded to the position of mutaka, relatives gathered to observe ceremonies marking birth, growth, death, and succession. These ceremonies took place in the nineteenth century, and people explained to early twentieth century ethnographers that remembering ancestors was critical to the well-being of Ganda families. Schoenbrun explains that in the society that preceded the kingdom of Buganda and its neighbors in the region, the gift of life (mwoyo) and the physical force of life (bugala) were "joined together in the living," and when the body died, "what had been the life force of the living body, mwoyo, became the life-force of the disembodied spirit, muzimu." A muzimu was a real entity, but it "could only be present in 'this' world (the land of the living) through acts of memory by its

descendants."[29] Baganda remembered their ancestors in the banana gardens that contained the graves of generations of forbearers and asked their ancestors for protection. Before the arrival of Western religions, bazimu (spirits of ancestors) intervened in the lives of their descendants to assist and guide them, as well as to punish them.[30]

The power of distinguished ancestors over the living can be seen in the actions the kabaka had to take to free himself of the influence of the dead in an area that he chose as his capital. Whenever a kabaka moved his capital from one location to another all of the graves in the location of the new capital had to be removed. (The habit of moving the capital appears in Ganda epic tradition in the time Kabaka Mutebi, who probably reigned in the mid 17th century, and the statement that bones were always removed from the site of a capital appears in the epic tradition in a story about Kabaka Suna, who ruled in the first half of the nineteenth century).[31] Since kabakas had sovereignty over all the land, it seems likely that graves had to be removed in order to eliminate the power over the kabaka's actions that the people buried there would otherwise wield.

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[29]Schoenbrun, ms., 358-9.

[30]In the 1920s Mair was told that people paid attention to the spirits of ancestors to avoid their potentially malicious interference, but Gorju, writing about Ganda religion as people remembered it from the 19th century, described the impact of ancestors' spirits as beneficial. Mair, 225; Julien Gorju, Entre le Victoria, L'Albert et L'Edouard, (Rennes: Oberthur, 1920), 220, ff., Schoenbrun, ms, 356-7. Schoenbrun notes that according to Welbourn, in Luganda the word zimu implied a long departed ancestor, and misambwa had the meaning of recently departed relatives. Schoenbrun, 364, citing Welbourn, "Some Aspects of Kiganda Religion." Uganda Journal 26/2(1962): 171-82.

[31]Apollo Kaggwa, Basekabaka bya Buganda, ms. translation in Africana Collection, Makerere University Library, 88/5; Kiwanuka, Kings, 44, 117.

Baganda conceptualized descent from specific remembered ancestors as a tree branching out into branches and limbs. The kika (clan) divided into secondary units called ssiga (branches) and smaller ones called mituba (twigs). A clan consisted of large numbers of people who thought of themselves as children of the same original forefathers, never married each other, and identified with each other by sharing names and a totem.[32] The clustering of clan burial grounds suggests that several hundred years ago, members of each clan lived primarily in one particular area of the country.[33] As more people moved into Buganda and royal institutions developed, the connection between clan membership and access to land became less direct. In the nineteenth century, and probably in the eighteenth, people maintained clan and lineage connections with relatives who did not live near them, and a mutaka had followers on clan land who were not members of the clan.[34]

After clans had dispersed so that their members lived all over the country, people relied on hospitality from fellow clan members--immediately identifiable by their clan names--wherever they travelled.[35] People observed important occasions with members of ssiga or mituba, and leaders of these units controlled succession. The clan as a whole provided labor to maintain the shrines of Ganda royalty who came from their clan, and

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[32]Schoenbrun suggests that the kika (clan) was probably the means through which people obtained access to the best banana growing lands as the practice of intensive banana cultivation emerged between 900 and 1100 AD., ms., 305.

[33]Kiwanuka, 94.

[34]Z. Kisingiri, "Enquiry into Native Land Tenure in the Uganda Protectorate," Uganda (Kingdom); Bodleian Library, Oxford; Shelfmark MS Africa s 17.

[35]Ndawula interview.

performed particular tasks for the kabaka. In Ganda epic tradition whole clans were responsible for the transgressions of one of their members, and evidence from the late nineteenth century suggests that persons who incurred debts or fines could approach clan leaders for help.[36]

The most important location for remembering ancestors was the butaka, a banana garden that contained graves of important members of the clan or lineage network. One witness before the 1924 Commission defined butaka as "the place of birth of anyone where his ancestors and forefathers have lived and were buried. And every chief whether Mukwenda, Sekibobo, or even the Katikiro himself when he dies he is buried on his butaka land."[37] Banana gardens that contained important graves were controlled by the people whose ancestors were buried there, and not by chiefs who had authority over contiguous land. Before the twentieth century, only distinguished members of a lineage were buried in a butaka; the graves of ordinary people were not visited or honored.[38] The mutaka Zedi Zirimenya Buga explained, for example, that his clan had always had a butaka at Mangira: "We were on that land when Kabaka Kintu [the first kabaka] came, and he found us there." In all the generations "from time immemorial" until 1924, however, only sixteen graves had been made on the land. Other butaka had graves "that cannot be numbered," but even those must have been the graves of important people, not all the

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[36]Kaggwa, Basekabaka 69; Kiwanuka, Kings, 67; Lukiko Record, 13, 29/5/1905.

[37]Commission, Aligizanda Mude, 333.

[38]Mackay, 196; Lubwuma interview; Commission, 540, Danieri Serugabi.

members of the clan.[39] People who had been powerful during their lives belonged in the butaka after their death, where they would be remembered and invoked to continue to assist their relatives.

New butaka were sometimes created by the kabaka to commemorate the lives of very important people. People who had been chiefs in the nineteenth century described the process in 1904. They said that people who had gathered around a distinguished leader in his lifetime continued to live in the vicinity of his grave, and more people might choose to come to live there and remember him after his death. After three generations of descendants were buried in the place of the grave of a "man of importance," the area containing the graves--and the surrounding gardens occupied by people engaged in remembering the buried ancestor--became butaka. This meant that the ability of chiefs to require labor or service was diminished, just as it was on the ancient butaka that had been incorporated in the kingdom as it developed.[40] Since people might choose to live near the grave of a particularly powerful leader who had been a member of their lineage, the

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[39]Commission, 438, Zedi Zirimenya; 443, Semei Sebagala Kyadondo.

[40] Testimony of Apollo Kaggwa and Ham Mukasa, "Enquiry into Native Land Tenure." It is important to note that this document has been widely misinterpreted as meaning that butaka was created by the burial of three generations of one lineage in the same place. Both Kaggwa and Mukasa stated that the process was unusual and only happened in the case of an important chief. Roscoe, perhaps in eagerness to see an equivalent of private property in pre-colonial Buganda, wrote about the process as a general one, Roscoe, 134. Morris Carter, attempting to define Ganda land tenure for the Uganda Protectorate High Court, made the same inference from the "Enquiry" testimony, "The Clan System, Land Tenure and Succession among the Baganda," Uganda Protectorate Law Reports, 1(1904-10):99-120. Roscoe and Carter's interpretation has been taken as authoritative by other scholars.

kabaka and others with authority over land were especially careful about where such people were buried. If the kabaka, or a clan, did not want to surrender control of a particular area of land where an important personage had been buried, the successor to the important person would not be allowed to be buried in the same location.

Exactly this kind of conflict over the potential creation of a butaka took place in the early nineteenth century at Senge. The details of this conflict, which emerged in disputes over the allocation of mailo land, provide an important insight into social relationships and the process of creating butaka before the transformations that took place at the turn of the century. Kidza had been the Kimbugwe, one of the most important chiefs of Kabaka Suna. When the Kimbugwe Kidza died ("before the arrival of Mr. Speke the first European,") he had been buried on a plot of land that had been given to him by the head of the Mbogo clan merely for growing food. Since he was an important chief, the Mbogo clan elders feared that his relatives would begin to gather to live around his grave, successive burials would turn it into a butaka, and the land would be lost to the Mbogo clan. They negotiated with the Kimbugwe's clan to ensure that the important man's grave would not remain on their land permanently. They "were very anxious to have the body of Kidza, a member of the Nsenene clan, removed from our butaka land, but the members of the Nsenene clan begged us to allow them to keep it there until it was quite dry when they would disinter it and take it to their butaka land."[41] Baganda made significant efforts to bury important members of their lineage and clan in the appropriate butaka, where their memory would be best preserved and their enduring influence experienced by the group.

[41]Commission, 371-2, Luisi Majwega.

This involved travelling to take the body of an important person to the appropriate location for burial if he (or she) had died in another place, and also exhumation of the bodies of significant members of the lineage who had not been buried in the butaka.[42] Men who had been leaders in the late nineteenth century described this kind of disinterment as normal; witnesses before the Butaka Commission in 1922 described both reburials and the tragedy of important men who had been buried in inappropriate places.[43] It seems reasonable to surmise that people had given the same careful attention to the burial of important people in the eighteenth century.

Remembering Constitutional Events

The strategic assemblage in a butaka of powerful people's graves had significance beyond the prayers and hopes of their descendants. As the institution of kingship developed, people found ways to incorporate the pre-existing centers of power and authority, manifested in butaka, into the emerging entity of Buganda. The butaka themselves, and the pattern of finding purpose and order in remembering, were extended and adapted to create the structures of Buganda as a nation. One aspect of this integration was pinpointing, and holding in memory, moments when the clan had demonstrated its support for an early kabaka, or a kabaka from the distant past had visited the butaka. The people who lived in an area reenacted in successive generations the actions that linked them with the center of the kingdom. Gorju observed, in 1920, that a detailed

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[42] Africana Collection, Makerere University, Apollo Kaggwa papers, AR KA 1, CA 22 "Mugwanya to Apolo and Kisingiri, Rubaga 24 Jan, 1906; Commission, 357-8, 448.

[43]Commission, 357-8, 361, 425, 448.

reconstruction of the entire history of Buganda could be made from piecing together clan traditions of their own contributions to the kingdom.[44]

The Ganda monarchy evolved through the interaction of pre-existing and immigrant clan structures.[45] This can be glimpsed at in the testimony in 1924 concerning the loss of butaka by the Nvuma clan. Kyadondo was an ancient butaka of the Nvuma clan; as their mutaka explained, "Kabaka Kintu found us there." Before the kingship came to exist (probably in the 14th or 15th century), the Nvuma clan had had a corporate existence and identified Kyadondo as their center. Kyadondo was the name of the butaka, the name of the large area that became a saza (province) of the Ganda kingdom, and the name of the mutaka himself. Kyadondo was a kasolya (principal) butaka, which meant that it had the quality of a charter: it was the place where the clan began and which everyone in the clan, no matter where they were born, called their birthplace. As one witness explained, butaka were "the origin or beginning of the baganda...the place which is hereditary during the reigns of all the Basekabaka of Buganda, and it is the place where the ancestors or forefathers of each clan are buried."[46] Together, the kasolya butaka of all the clans were a kind of unwritten constitution for the kingdom, they were its first source.

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[44]Gorju, 85.

[45]This process is considered by Julien Gorju, Entre le Victoria, L'Albert et L'Edouard. Rennes: Oberthur, 1920, 133-4; Lloyd Fallers, "Social Stratification in Traditional Buganda," in Lloyd Fallers, ed., The King's Men, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964:64-113, 76-81; Kiwanuka, 115; D. Anthony Low, Buganda in Modern History, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971, 15; Wrigley, Kingship and state, 64-5; Ray, 94-6. Schoenbrun's historical linguistic examination of the question provides the greatest time-depth supported by evidence, ms. 347-350, 369, summarized on 396.

[46]Commission, 342, Malaki Musajakawa.

The people who lived in subsidiary Nvuma clan butaka in Kyadondo remembered not only their ancestors buried in the butaka but also stories that linked their clan with the order of the kingdom. The clan members continued to work for kabakas to commemorate the way one of their ancestors had begun to serve a kabaka in the past. The Siga butaka called Sekagya at Bumbu, for example, was remembered because Sekagya, who had been the katikiro to Kabaka Nakibinge (the 8th kabaka, who probably ruled around 1500), took care of Nakibinge's wife, Nanono, at that place. All the generations of successors to both Sekagya and Nanono were buried there.[47] A clan elder explained that another butaka, called Buwambo "had been given to us by Kabaka Nakibinge, who planted a tree there for us to tie on his cow which we look after there and which is called Nakawombe." For the hundreds of years since that event, according to the Nvuma clan, its members had continued to look after the kabaka's cows in that place, and "the present Kabaka Daudi Chwa came to this place and saw this very tree and he also gave us his own cow to look after." One of the mituba butaka of the clan, Jita, "was very important for it was in this estate that the kabaka's beer was brewed, and where the kabaka's big calabash called Mendanvuma was kept." [48] Other clans framed their relationship with the kabaka in similar ways. The Ngabi clan, for example, had a butaka called Kipapi, where the king's buffalo were looked after.[49]

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[47]Commission, 446-7, Semei Sebagala Kyadondo.

[48]They said, "this estate had never been cut off before." Ibid, 442.

[49]Commission, 475b, Danieri Sendikadiwa.

Baganda spoke about the tasks or the remembered actions of their clan with a strong sense of identity and purposefulness. When a mutaka claimed in front of the Bataka Land Commission, "we have always been fishermen for the Namasole (Queen Mother) from time immemorial," he asserted the importance for the people of their work not as a means of livelihood, but as a way of defining who they were and how they fit into the kingdom.[50] Remembered relationships between clan ancestors and ancient kabakas connected people in Buganda to the central authority of the kingdom in ways that were meaningful and effective. Whether the remembered events represent co-optation by increasingly powerful kings, or clans' strategies of integrating themselves into a useful rising power, or both, are questions for further historical enquiry.[51] For whatever combination of motivations, over the long duree people in Buganda created a resilient polity using production dedicated to remembering important people and relationships.[52]

Following Tribute Up: Overlapping Forms of Power

People in Buganda used the logic of kusenga and the pattern of production oriented to remembering relationships to create the structures of their kingdom. By comparing the patterns of exchange visible in the late nineteenth century with the forms of authority named in Ganda epic tradition, it is possible to reconstruct the order of the kingdom. In the time of Kabaka Namugala, the 24th kabaka, who probably ruled in the mid-eighteenth century, a new type of chiefship--ekitongole--appears in the Ganda epic

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[50]Commission, 428, Makobo Kalonde.

[51] "Schoenbrun, ms. 333.

[52]Wrigley, Kingship and state, 228.

tradition. Before the beginning of ekitongole chiefship, Buganda was organized in a complex and effective system of chiefs serving the kabaka, chiefs serving the Namasole (Queen Mother), chiefs serving extremely powerful chiefs, and partially autonomous clan elders and religious leaders.

The role of tribute in expressing political relationships may have contributed to Buganda's stability over hundreds of years. Followers gave tribute to the particular leaders whom they served: Ganda structures of power were the connections between large groups of less powerful people who had obligations to particular powerful people in control of land. Since political relationships were expressed through the exchange of gifts, new forms of authority (and new obligations for tribute) could be introduced without displacing older ones. Had rulers been contesting authority over territory, one would have won and the others would have lost; but because Ganda rulers were competing for followers and their tribute, the allegiance of a group of people could be divided among two or more rulers with nobody losing out entirely.[53] The densely complex and overlapping patterns of tribute obligations that existed in the late nineteenth century suggest that in the past Ganda rulers divided power--in the form of control over tribute-givers--among leaders who otherwise might have come into conflict.

Attention to the flow of tribute from households through chiefs to various leaders of the kingdom suggests that power in Buganda was diffused, not centralized, and the structures of power were overlapping and complex, not hierarchical in a linear way. The

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[53]Another reason that Ganda chiefs did not fight each other over territory in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was that they obtained wealth by raiding.

resolution of conflict by dividing followers among contenders for power created intense competition among chiefs to attract followers. Interpretations of Ganda history derived from royalist sources and from observations made in the nineteenth century have depicted a centralized state in which kabakas gradually became more dominant over other internal forces. However, the actual relationships expressed in the exchange of tribute, allegiance, and protection reveal power diffused throughout the structures of the kingdom. [54]

According to Ganda epic tradition, Buganda comprised ten divisions called sazas each ruled by a chief with a specific title at the time Kabaka Namugala established the first ekitongole chiefship in about 1700. The kingdom had grown through the incorporation of clan leaders whose territories became sazas of the kingdom under the kabaka and through the appointment of chiefs to rule newly annexed territories. These gradual changes are recorded in Ganda epic tradition, which concludes the story of each kabaka by naming the important chiefs appointed during his reign. The titles for the chiefships of the oldest, most central sazas are identical to the names of the clan elders of the clans which had

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[54]Original sources that reinforce this point of view are Kaggwa's Basekabaka, his contribution to the "Enquiry', and the memorandum that became part of the Butaka Land Commission records which listed every victory of a Kabaka over a clan leader. The point of view that kabakas attempted to systematically take over the power of other controllers of territory can be found in Martin Southwold, Bureaucracy and Chiefship in Buganda, East African Studies No. 14, Kampala, 1961, and D. Anthony Low, Modern History, 30; and Low, "The Northern Interior, 1840-1884," in History of East Africa, Vol. 1, Roland Oliver and Gervase Mathew, eds., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963, 334; Fallers, "Social Stratification," 97, and Wrigley, Kingship, 65. However, Ray cites an informant who remembered seeing Kaggwa refuse to record clan traditions which named Kabakas before Kintu, 101. Relying on oral histories recounted by clan elders, Michael Wright disputed the view that clans and kabakas had been in conflict or that Buganda had been despotic, Buganda in the Heroic Age, New York: Oxford University Press, 1971, 2-4, 206; More locations of power and other non-royalist perspectives were published in Ebifa and Munno by Gomotoka and others; these are explored by Kiwanuka, 99-100, Ray, 96-13.

significant butaka in that area. For example, the Mugema was the head of the Ngeye clan, and also the chief of Busirro; and the Kitunzi was the head of the Mpologoma clan, and also the chief of Gomba. The titles for the chiefships of some of the areas which Buganda had annexed from its neighbors were identical with the names of the newly annexed sazas: the Kasuju was the chief of Busuju; and the Katambala was the chief of Butambala. Following the Ganda pattern of marking political relationships with remembered histories, each saza chief had particular obligations of service to the kabaka, as is illustrated in Table 2.1.[55]

"All of Buganda" attended gatherings in the courtyard of the kabaka, nineteenth century visitors were told; the people present were chiefs of every saza, and followers who had come from each saza to work for the kabaka.[56] The compound of every saza chief connected to the courtyard of the kabaka in the capital with a wide, straight road. This real and mental picture of Buganda as a collection of ten sazas ruled by saza chiefs was valid, but it was not complete. Each of the saza chiefs nominally allocated land and received tribute over the part of Buganda that was his saza, but other powerful figures had claims within their sazas, and several of the saza chiefs also had authority over land in

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[55] Ham Mukasa, Enquiry; Roscoe, 233.The names and services of some saza chiefs suggests that these chiefships originated with something like the remembered relationship of an individual with the king called obwesengeze land tenure by Morris Carter in 1909, and by A. B. Mukwaya, Land Tenure in Buganda: Present Day Tendencies, East Africn Studies no. 1, Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1953, 12-3.

[56]Maps of the capitals of Kabakas Suna and Mutesa, who reigned through most of the nineteenth century, and descriptions of the gathering of "all of Buganda" by Mackay and other nineteenth century observers confirm the order delineated in the epic tradition.

Table 2.1
The Chiefs of Buganda's Ten Sazas and Their Special Functions

Name	Name of Saza	Special Work for Kabaka
Kago	Kyadondo	Built houses for kabaka; cared for his twins
Mukwenda	Singo	
Sekibobo	Kyagwe	Supervised people who came to work for kabaka Collected tribute from Busoga
Kangawo	Bulemezi	Built the house of the kabaka's most important wife; took care of her
Mugema	Busiro	Head of Ngeye Clan; built and maintained shrines of dead kabakas
Pokino	Budu	Collected tribute from Koki and Kiziba
Kitunzi	Gomba	Head of Mpologoma clan; took care of shrines
Kaima	Mawokota	Provided guides when the kabaka went to war
Katambala	Butambala	Head of Ndiga clan; carried the kabaka's charms
Kasuju	Busuju	Took care of the families of the princes and princesses; an elder of Ngeye clan.

other chiefs' sazas. For example, the Queen Mother and her subordinates controlled land in most of the sazas.[57] Saza chiefs also lost control of areas that became populated by the followers of a particular Lubaale (god), when the devotees established farms and remembered the Lubaale under the direction of a mandwa (medium). According to Apolo Kaggwa's explanation in 1906, the people who had had authority over the land on which the mandwa and his followers settled could not object to their presence, because the medium would say "You'll die if you don't let them stay."[58] Parts of every saza were butaka lands, and these were under the control of clan elders. A small number of powerful chiefs in the center of the kingdom, including the Katikiro, the Kimbugwe, and the Sabaganzi (brother of the Namasole) controlled lands in every saza.[59]

The power to collect tribute, or the inability to do so, demonstrated the extent of a chief's authority. A Saza chief mediated between the center of the kingdom and people in authority below him; all these subtle relationships were enacted in the collection of tribute.

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[57]Gorju, 139-40; Lawrence D. Schiller, "The Royal Women of Buganda." International Journal of African Historical Studies 23/3(1990):455-473, also Lukiko Record, 239, 29/1/1917 on a conflict over the appointment of a Namasole's chiefship that was being abolished; Lukiko Record 169, 30/4/1915, on a Namasole of a deceased Kabaka complaining about losing control of her land; and Customary Law Reports 1941-1951, 115-118, on a dispute between descendants of the Mugema and a Princess over ownership of land,
Civil Case No. 262/50.

[58]Kaggwa, Enquiry. Schoenbrun suggests that kubandwa became associated with particular places, and their mediums were able to command considerable labor, at some time before 1000 AD. ms, 207.

[59] Gorju, 136-7.

For example, people remembered in 1904 that only some of the people giving tribute in the saza of Kyagwe in the nineteenth century gave it directly to the Sekibobo, the saza chief of Kyagwe. Others paid directly to his deputy, because they were the followers of the deputy, not followers of the saza chief. Other people residing in the saza gave tribute only to the Mutaka of a clan, and in order to obtain tribute destined for the king from those people, a chain of collectors, representing the king, the saza chief, and his deputy, would appeal to the Mutaka to collect tribute. Some tribute items, such as barkcloth, had to go to the kabaka, but the collectors could ask people to supply other goods in order to have something to keep themselves. When chains of collectors asked for tribute in a group, each authority figure represented kept a portion of what was collected.[60] These complex and overlapping chains of tribute suggest that new demands had been layered on top of older demands over a long period of time. Mackay observed in the 1880s that some forms of tribute were collected by responsible people going from household to household whenever the king or queen mother chose to collect tax. Other forms of tribute, such as beer from every brew or the obligation to provide a bark cloth for the burial of a very important man, were routine and the tribute was brought without a specific request.[61] Receiving tribute through chains of authority figures entitled to take a portion of what was given was a well-established pattern in Buganda: early in the twentieth century, Catholics

[60]Kaggwa, Enquiry.

[61]Mackay, 196.

and Protestants built their cathedrals and schools by collecting from followers using this technique.[62]

Evidence from the nineteenth century indicates that saza chiefs did not exercise authority over all the people who lived in their sazas; a person could live in the area of one chief, but be the follower of a different chief. A follower's allegiance to the chief who was nominally in control of a region depended on a consensus regarding that chief's authority over the specific land the follower occupied. A person might be independent of the saza chief's authority because he or she was a follower of the Kabaka directly, of a Lubale spirit, of the Queen Mother, or of a different chief who controlled some land inside that particular saza. For example, the blacksmith Erenesti Kakoza claimed that in the 1880s he had not been a follower of the Kimbugwe, even though he had been "under" (living in the saza and of lower status than) the Kimbugwe. He demonstrated his autonomy by claiming that no intermediaries came between the holders of his title and the kabaka: "All the kabaka's messengers sent to Kakoza used to come straight from the kabaka to myself, but did not come through the Kimbugwe; and when the Kabaka used to come to my workshop to [ask me] to do some blacksmith work he used to come straight to me not through the Kimbugwe; and he would not have paid such visits to a private tenant..."[63]

More evidence of multiple forms of authority that co-existed and sometimes overlapped comes from testimony about control of Bussi Island from about 1880 to 1900.

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[62]Africana Collection, Makerere University, Kabali Papers, AR KA 2/2, Budo Board of Governors' File, 23/10/1924.

[63]Commission, 451, Erenesti Kakoza.

The island had been given to the Gabunga (the kabaka's admiral) by Kabaka Mwanga in 1884, but not all the land came under his authority.[64] A witness before the Butaka Land Commission explained, "When Gabunga was given power to rule the islands of Sesse he found some important bataka who had power over their own land and he did not take away that power from them. But [he] took possession of all the estates which belonged then to some less important bataka and converted them into his own private estates."[65] A series of clan elders testified that even though the island had been given to Gabunga, they had never become his followers. They proved their independence from the saza chief by describing their actions. Zedi Zirimenya said, "When my father died we were about 150 men who attended the funeral, but we never went to Gabunga first to apply for permission to bury him."[66] Malaki Musajakawa challenged the Katikiro (Prime Minister), "Let Chief Gabunga point to any one of us [bataka from Bussi] who was his private tenant and who worked for him."[67] Before it was given to Gabunga, Bussi island had been territory controlled by Guggu, the priest who controlled the shrine of the god Mukasa. Witnesses discussing the issue of authority on Bussi pointed out that no nineteenth century kabaka

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[64]As we shall see in Chapter Three, Kabaka Mwanga's own authority was called into question (and, by some accounts, entirely rejected) during the years for which control over the island was disputed, and the kabaka's own dubious position might have contributed to Bussi leaders rejection of the overrule of the Gabunga. However, the logic of the Bussi witnesses, who proved their autonomy by referencing their actions in relation to the saza chief, suggests that autonomous authority within the territory of a saza chief was not unusual.

[65]Commission, Yosiya Sajabi Semugala, 385.

[66]Commission, 359, Zedi Zirimenya.

[67]Commission, 345, Malaki Musajakawa.

had ever tried to call up the canoes controlled by Guggu for service on the lake.[68] Kabaka Mwanga gave Bussi to the chief Gabunga, but large groups of people who lived in his territory gave their allegiance, tribute, and labor to others and not to Gabunga.

These multiple, overlapping relationships of followers with figures of authority shaped the political character of Buganda. In carrying out their obligations as leaders, Ganda chiefs had to pay attention to their peers as well as their superiors. A chief had to be constantly alert to the possibility that his followers might desert him because they decided another chief in the same neighborhood treated his men better. Successful chiefs had to be able to attract and maintain followers in a context of competition from other chiefs seeking followers. Effective chiefs had to be skilled in resolving disputes in ways that seemed just to all parties; they had to be able to obtain and redistribute goods in ways that satisfied their superiors and their followers; they had to develop working relationships with other rulers so that their control of their people would not be threatened.[69] By the time foreigners arrived in Buganda in the mid-nineteenth century, the coordinating, balancing characteristics of chiefship had been replaced by a more aggressive style required by participation in an escalating trade in ivory, slaves and guns; but the Ganda

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[68]Commission, 386, Gabunga. The chief Gabunga claimed that withholding of Guggu's canoes from service proved that Guggu had not been a chief, because "they were considered to belong to the Gabunga personally as his private property," but it seems reasonable to assume that Guggu's canoes were not utilized because they were considered to belong to Mukasa.

[69]Roscoe, 241; Martin Southwold, "Leadership, Authority, and the Village Community," The King's Men, Lloyd Fallers, ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1964, 211-255, 214.

ethic that ruling implied courtesy and cooperation among peers was still intact (see Chapters 3 and 7).[70]

Power at the Center of the Kingdom

All the broad, well-maintained roads that crossed hills and bridged swamps in straight lines from each saza converged in the courtyard of the palace of the Kabaka. In Buganda, the kibuga (capital) was a physical representation of the kingdom as a whole. It is possible to perceive the nature of power relationships at the center of the kingdom in the customs observed in constructing a kibuga, and in maps drawn by Apolo Kaggwa of the layout of the capital in the time of Kabakas Suna (1825-1852) and Mutesa (1852-1879).[71] One half of the huge circular kibuga was the palace of the kabaka, including large houses for his primary wives, each one built and maintained by a saza chief. Immediately in front of the palace was a large courtyard where "all of Buganda" gathered to greet the kabaka and listen to cases. Elaborate fences, built by people brought to work in turns by their chiefs, enclosed each layer of buildings in the palace. Facing the palace across from its courtyard were shrines to the gods Mukasa and Nende. The chief of each saza had a compound at the top of the road connecting the capital to his saza. The central chiefs of

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[70]Richard Waller, "The Traditional Economy of Buganda," Master of Arts Essay, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1971. Wright observed that "low tension" characterized Ganda political interactions: differences were not pursued to the point at which conflict would become necessary, 51. This perception stands in contrast to that of Lloyd Fallers, articulated in "Despotism, Status Culture and Social Mobility in an African Kingdom," Comparative Studies in Society and History 2(1959):4-32, that the lack of clearly delineated functions of each of the multiple office holders would have increased the power of the kabaka, 20.

[71] Peter C.W. Gutkind, The Royal Capital of Buganda, The Hague: Mouton, 1963, 9-18; Kiwanuka, History, facing 160.

the kingdom, such as the Katikiro and Kimbugwe (guardian of the kabaka's metaphysical well-being), also had large compounds in the kibuga.

Kabakas lived at the center of the kingdom, at the pinnacle of Buganda's pattern of exchange. In the 1880s, Baganda told the missionary Mackay that "the axis of the earth sticks visibly out through the roof of the conical hut of their king."[72] In theory, everything was owed to the kabaka and he had everything to distribute: he "ate" the nation when he became kabaka. Replicating the kusenga relationship on a kingdom-wide level, the kabaka allocated land to his chiefs and expected obedience and tribute in return. In the nineteenth century, kabakas demonstrated the power of the monarchy through rituals devoted to deceased kings in which large numbers of people were killed.[73] As Ganda epic tradition mentions few cases of large scale killings in earlier times, it seems probable that these events were part of the kabakas attempt to counteract the collapse of their power induced by the caravan trade.

Kabakas marked the center of the kingdom but they were not by any means the sole wielders of power within it. The shrines to Mukasa and Nende in the center of the kibuga represented the independent voice of spirit mediums that rulers of Buganda were obliged to accommodate.[74] A confrontation between Kabaka Suna. who ruled from 1824 to 1857, and a famous spirit medium, Kigemuzi, arose when Suna ordered people not to defecate in the capital on pain of death. It may be that Suna made this impossible demand

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[72]Mackay, 214.

[73]Ray, 177-181.

[74] Wrigley, Kingship, 182-7; Schoenbrun, 368, 371-2, 464.

as an attempt to reassert control at a time when trade with the coast had begun to erode the kabaka's power. According to tradition, Kigemuzi objected to the new law and sent a message to Suna through the tax collector, "Ask him, where does he defecate?" The horrified tax collectors took him to the palace, but Kigemuzi refused to be humble. When the kabaka's men stuck his lips with sticks to make him be quiet, he said "You also will be stuck"; when he was burnt with irons he said "You also will be burnt." According to the remembered tradition, only a few hours passed before Kabaka Suna was struck by lightening, and his capital burnt down. Kigemuzi, who had been held in stocks, was released and taken to the kabaka. He told Suna, "Punishing a child does not mean hatred, you will soon recover," after which the Namasole and Kabaka Suna made sure that Kigemuzi got everything he might want.[75]

Two leaders of Buganda wielded such a high degree of power that it was impossible for them to reside in the same place as the kabaka: the Namasole (Queen Mother) and the Mugema (saza chief of Busiro). The court of the Namasole was on another hill, separated from the kibuga's hill by a stream of running water. The Namasole was served by a coterie of chiefs in all parts of the kingdom that mirrored the set of chiefs serving the king.[76] Namasoles exercised a kind of superintending power over the actions of a reigning kabaka through their independent material base in land and people, and through their influence over their other sons, who were potential rivals for the kabakaship. If a

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[75]Basekabaka, Makerere MS, 128.

[76]Schoenbrun observes that words for queen mothers and other royal women emerged in ancient east African speech communities at the same time as words for kings, some time between 900 and 1200 AD, Green Place ms., 345.

kabaka wanted to remain in power, he had to act in a way that pleased the Namasole.[77] A Namasole never entered the kibuga; when she wished to communicate with a kabaka, she sent messengers.[78] The Mugema--who served the deceased kings all of whose shrines were all in his saza Busiro (literally, the place of shrines)--also resided in a compound that was separated from the kabaka's by a stream of running water. As the "Katikiro" of the deceased kabakas, the Mugema could speak with a voice of authority that challenged the reigning kabaka. The Mugema was the only chief who stood instead of kneeling in the presence of the kabaka; he did not eat food prepared by the kabaka's cooks, and he was not obligated to provide people to maintain buildings inside the palace.[79] Their locations as well as the ritual prohibitions regarding interaction between the kabaka and both the Namasole and Mugema expressed the Ganda awareness that these leaders wielded power that could seriously threaten a reigning kabaka.

Although royal ritual and proverbs emphasized the absolute power of the kabaka, the patterns of interaction in the kibuga suggest that the Namasole and Mugema were not the only figures of authority who had the capacity to challenge the kabaka. The Kimbugwe, the chief who was responsible for the king's "twin" (a powerful ritual object that represented the kabaka's metaphysical well-being), could suggest to a kabaka that

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[77]For example, Kabaka Semakokiro's success in overthrowing his brother Kabaka Junju was engineered by the Namasole, angered by Junju's murder of a pregnant wife.Kiwanuka, Kings, 92: Kabaka Mutesa told Mackay he felt obliged to comply with the Namasole's wishes, Mackay, 162; Wright gives another example, 3.

[78] Schiller, 461; Nakanyike B. Musisi, "Women, "Elite Polygyny,' and Buganda State Formation". Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 16/4(1991):757-86.

[79]Roscoe, 253; "Enquiry into Native Land Tenure."

specific actions were essential for his well-being, and the kabaka had to comply.[80] The Sabaganzi (uncle of a kabaka) and Kasuju (saza chief in charge of princes) also had leverage over a kabaka because of their connection with the princes who were his potential rivals. As Rowe has pointed out, the Katikiro who assisted a prince to come to power on the death of his father often had considerable influence over a new king.[81] The Kibari was a chiefship that required the holder to voice objections to unacceptable actions of the kabaka. The Kibari took the king's place when he was absent, and was the only person who could try the king. According to Zechariah Kisingiri, one of the most powerful chiefs of the early colonial period, the Kibari in the past "could find the king was in the wrong, but he had no authority to punish him."[82] Succession to this position followed a unique procedure: the Empeo clan selected fifteen candidates from the appropriate lineage, then the kabaka chose four of those, and the final decision of who would succeed to the position of Kibari was made by "all of Buganda"--the chiefs who gathered to hear cases in the kabaka's court.[83]

The gathering of "all of Buganda" had a larger role in the government of Buganda than has been recognized by studies that have taken royalist traditions and rituals at their face value. In these gatherings, and in the "endless amount of omusango (cases) going on," various chiefs and coalitions of chiefs constantly worked out their relative positions of

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[80]Roscoe, 235.

[81]Rowe, xx.

[82]Kisingiri, Enquiry.

[83]Ibid.

power.[84] Decisions that went in favor of one chief or clan at one time were decided in favor of another party at a later date, when their relative strength--the love the kabaka felt for them--had shifted.[85] As Waller observes, the role of the kabaka was to balance and coordinate the actions of chiefs: he could not rule without them. The chiefs who met in the gathering place in the center of the kingdom had the power to offer or withhold tribute and labor, and to choose the peers with whom they would align. A kabaka's capacity to secure the allegiance of chiefs depended on his ability to re-allocate chiefships or create new ones, but he had to constantly be aware of the power of groups of chiefs who might favor one of his brothers over him.[86] When kabakas moved the kibuga every few years, they were able to consolidate the allegiance of some chiefs and make others more remote and less powerful depending on where they placed the kibuga in the kingdom, and how they re-arranged the order of the compounds of particular chiefs within it. The reign of each kabaka was remembered, in Ganda epic tradition, by enumerating all the important chiefs which that kabaka had appointed; the list of chiefs encapsulated how he had ruled.

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[84]Many early observers of Buganda commented on procedures for trying cases, this statement comes from Mackay, 187-8. Schoenbrun suggests that powerful men gathered at the court might have developed into the chiefships that were considered to be the specific servants of the king. ms, 338.

[85]This is one of the themes of the testimony of clan elders before the Butaka Land Commission in 1924; see for example the testimony of Daudi Basude, Commission, 352.

[86]The story of the rise and fall of the servant Kiyanzi, which carried on for several generations, is an example of this. Kiwanuka, Kings, 146-9.

Though ritual and proverbs celebrated the absolute authority of kabakas, in practice they were obliged to cultivate the cooperation of chiefs.[87]

Kabakas who violated the moral imperative of kusenga faced rebellion. Kabaka Kagulu, the twentieth kabaka who probably ruled at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was remembered by people for making impossible demands. According to the epic tradition, he made people carry reeds for his fences with the points sticking up, and kneel down where he had planted needles in the ground. He also made them dig trees all the way out of the ground, including the roots, so that some people got buried alive in the process. The tradition explains, "When the chiefs and the rest of the people came to hate being pierced by needles or buried alive, they rebelled against Kagulu." People gathered on a hill adjacent to the kibuga and jeered the Kabaka, saying "Sir, we your men have come to pay you a visit, Busiro greets you."' When Kabaka Kagulu saw that the people were refusing to come to him, he made a drum and ordered it to be beaten: "Buganda is at peace: Kagulu does not now kill people: come and visit him." But the people did not come, so Princess Ndege Nasolo called the princes, organized a battle, and eventually killed Kagulu herself. Kabaka Kagulu was not buried in Busiro, and after his death, people of Njovu clan were killed for having produced such an evil kabaka. [88] The epic tradition's

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[87] In his written version of Ganda epic tradition, Kaggwa explained that people evaluated the success of a kabaka by observing how many beads had been left in his shrine by successors to the chiefs he had appointed. If there were many, people would say "He died a happy many because he had many chiefs." Basekabaka, ms in Makerere, 58.

[88] Kiwanuka, Kings, 62-68.

story about Kabaka Kagulu demonstrates that power in Buganda did not simply flow from the top down.

Ebitongole: Kabakas Control Innovation

Ganda epic tradition records that in the eighteenth century, kabakas began to establish chiefships dedicated to specific purposes. In contrast to positions of authority that commemorated important people or significant interactions in the past, these chiefships were named for what they were supposed to accomplish. While saza chiefships had developed gradually by accretion over long periods of time, a newly appointed ekitongole chief displaced the previous authority on that land as soon as the chiefship was created. A chief explained how this had been done in the nineteenth century, "when the kabaka appointed you to a Kitongole you would choose an estate at which you would make your headquarters, and you would then distribute the rest of the estates among your Batongole."[89] Kabaka Namugala (who also made innovations in the ritual installing kabakas) and who probably ruled in the mid eighteenth century, established the first two ebitongole, Ekigalagala (for the purpose of spreading out) and Kitamanyang'amba (for the purpose of knowing what is said). A generation later, Kabaka Kamanya established the chiefship Ekikinakulya (for the purpose of things to eat).[90] Consolidating military victories was the purpose of some of the original ebitongole chiefships, and for this reason, they have been erroneously considered a form of military chiefship. Their purposes were actually much broader.

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[89]Commission, Paulo Bakunga, 536.

[90]Commission, letter of Lukiko, 563.

Ebitongole allowed a kabaka to orient productive labor towards a task which he wished to have carried out. Settling an area to incorporate new territory into Buganda could be one purpose towards which the kabaka directed productive resources, but there were many others. An ekitongole on Buganga was called Ekibukula Mabira (for the purpose of opening up of the forests) because the clan elder had asked the kabaka for hunters to drive away elephants and buffaloes that were attacking people, and the ekitongole was the land supplied to meet the food needs of the hunters.[91] Another ekitongole in Buganga was Ekirwanyamuli, which was a place where the people of Chief Omulwanyamuli could obtain bananas when they visited the lake to fish. The ekitongole had been allocated as uncultivated land, and the chief had been obliged to bring people to cultivate the land in order to use it. Other ebitongole in the same area were Kikwekwesi, which was for the head of all the kabaka's servants to obtain labor and supplies, and Kisomose, the place where the makers of drums and mweso boards for the kabaka lived, grew their food, and carried out their work.[92] Another ekitongole was responsible for brewing the kabaka's beer.[93]

The creation of ebitongole allowed kabakas to control innovation by placing the production of new things under chiefs who were directly obligated to him. Semakokiro, in the generation following Namugala, developed the innovation of a new type of hunting

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[91]Commission, Mikairi Kidza and Stanislaus Mugwanya, 401.

[92]Ibid.

[93]Commission, 531b, Siriwani Mberenge.

net, which brought him many followers who helped him defeat his brother Kabaka Junju.[94] Kabakas attempted to control the social consequences of new productive possibilities--new commodities or production for new purposes--by confining them to ebitongole. One ekitongole was named Kirima Ntungo (to cultivate sesame seeds).[95] Kabaka Suna assigned an ekitongole to "the Banyoro potters".[96] The sesame seeds and pots produced went directly to the kabaka, without any chiefs who might trade independently as intermediaries; and also the producers owed allegiance directly to the kabaka. As sources of potentially disruptive innovation increased in the early nineteenth century, the number of ebitongole chiefships also expanded.

Conclusion

Buganda has been called a highly centralized kingdom, but this is not quite accurate. Kusenga, the fundamental component of Ganda production and political association, linked people in a reciprocal relationship which was premised on the possibility that followers could leave their chiefs. A similar premise--that chiefs might withdraw their support--shaped the relationship of kabakas with their followers, the chiefs. Remembering ancestors motivated the activities of people who produced food and reproduced communities; a remembrance of significant ties infused meaning and purposefulness into the relationship of different units of the Ganda polity. In people's

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[94]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 93.

[95]Commission, 395, Stanislaus Mugwanya.

[96]Commission, 472, Yosiya Sensalire.

minds Buganda existed as a network of chiefships that offered tribute to the kabaka who "ate" the kingdom--the existence of a center was fundamental. However, power was not centralized; authority and the will that caused things to be accomplished did not flow down from the center, dominating every other participant. Chiefs acted in ways that indicated their sense of their own power relative to their peers: sometimes they withheld obedience and labor, they made alliances that pressured kabakas into compliance, and at times they rebelled. Compelling reasons to act or to refrain from action came from peoples' ways of remembering the past, and from the connections to that past which they re-enacted in butaka. A map of the roads in the kingdom looked something like a spider web, and power in Buganda had some of the same characteristics. All the lines led to the center, but each connection in the circle had strength and integrity of its own.

CHAPTER THREE
CHIEFSHIP, LAND, AND CIVIL ORDER

Civil war and social disorder convulsed Buganda in the late nineteenth century. Four kabakas (kings) were installed in less than a decade; tens of thousands died from famine and disease; and the institutions of the polity appeared to fall apart. By the end of the war Baganda appeared to have temporarily ceded the kabaka's authority to allocate land--the ultimate demonstration of his authority--to British officers. The war has been perceived as a "religious revolution" in which modernizing Ganda Christians and Moslems toppled paganism and then fought each other to make Buganda Catholic, Protestant, or Moslem: contemporary Ganda chroniclers, missionary and colonial observers, and historians have interpreted the war in these sectarian terms.[1] New religious categories were only one dimension of the war in Buganda from 1888 to 1896, however. It was also, fundamentally, a Ganda expression of the collapse of social institutions that affected all of

[1]Kaggwa recounts the plundering undertaken by the kabaka and chiefs, and also the provocations of "unnatural vice," but identifies the onerous burden of digging the lake as the cause of the revolt against Mwanga, 96/141-100/143. The conflict is cast in religious categories by Wright, 34,40, 164-5; Kiwanuka, 192-3; John Milner Gray, "The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda," Uganda Journal 14(1949):15-52; Christopher C. Wrigley, "The Christian Revolution in Buganda," Comparative Studies in Society and History 2(1959:33-48; and D. Anthony Low, "Religion and Society in Buganda 1874-1900," East African Studies, No. 8, Kampala, 1957. According to Twaddle, Kakungulu, it was less a religious revolution than a palace coup, 35.

east Africa as a consequence of trade in ivory and slaves.[2] In Buganda, the exchange of cloth and guns for people both undermined the legitimacy of the kabaka and transformed the autonomous power of chiefs. The faction leaders in the civil war were chiefs who had new religious convictions, and also new wealth from independent trading with Arabs, new power from followers who attached to them instead of to the king, and an expanded set of potential foreign allies.

The overthrow of Mwanga in 1888 initiated a period of self-destruction in which Ganda religious factions raided and slaved against each other inside their own country. The war caused unprecedented devastation because most Ganda mechanisms for ending conflict could not function: the four successive kabakas were ineffective; conversion by the chiefs had undermined the mediating role of Ganda spiritual leaders; and there was no model for cooperation among the new religions. In these difficult circumstances, Ganda chiefs used the language of land allocation to forge compromises among the warring groups. In 1889, 1892, and 1893, a re-arrangement of control of land by the various factions sealed attempts to end the war. The failure of the first of these efforts, along with the further collapse of the authority of the kabakaship under Mwanga after he was re-installed, appears to have motivated the Ganda chiefs to give Captain Lugard the kabaka's

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[2]This analysis relies on Richard Waller's unpublished Master of Arts essay from the School of Oriental and African Studies, "The Traditional Economy of Buganda," John Tosh's description of the Ganda contribution to pre-colonial trade in "The Northern Interlacustrine Region" in Richard Gray and David Birmingham, eds., Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900 London: Oxford University Press, 1970, 103-18; and Steven Feierman's analysis of the consequences of long distance trade for a kingdom with a tribute-based economy in The Shambaa Kingdom: A History (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974).

role of making land allocations to resolve conflict. The assignment of Catholic, Protestant, and Moslem provinces by the Ganda chiefs with the support of various British substitute-kabakas resolved the political and social turmoil of the preceding decade by effectively integrating the new and potentially dangerous religious categories into the structure of the Buganda kingdom.

The first three sections of this chapter consider the unfolding violence of the late nineteenth century in East Africa: the destructive effects of the caravan trade on the power of the kabaka, the development of chiefs who wielded autonomous military power, and the integration of new forms of spiritual power into the growing conflict. The fourth section demonstrates how Ganda chiefs used re-allocation of land to end the spiral of violence.

Buganda and the Trade in Ivory and Slaves

Trade goods which had come from the East African coast were first mentioned in Ganda epic tradition in the time of Kabaka Semakokiro in the late 1700s, and successive kabakas managed for half a century to incorporate these new things into the circulation of goods that expressed Ganda social hierarchies.[3] They did this by making specific chiefs responsible for trade in various markets on the edges of the kingdom, and by circumscribing new economic possibilities inside the structure of ebitongole chiefships.[4] At first, goods from the coast flowed exclusively to and from the Kabaka. In 1861, after

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[3]Items traded from the coast have been found in archeological sites in Uganda dated at several centuries before Kabaka Semakookiro. David Schoenbrun, personal communication. It is possible that Ganda traditions associate trade with Kabaka Semakookiro because long-distance trading expeditions began to reach Buganda during his reign.

[4]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 103; Chapter 2.

Speke's visit, Kabaka Mutesa killed a chief--the Mutongole of Karema--for acquiring cloth in Karagwe which he had not turned over to the king.[5] Foreign traders were met at the borders of the kingdom and escorted to the capital, and food was provided to them in order to prevent them from interacting with people or trading on their own.[6] Through most of Kabaka Mutesa's reign, foreigners--both traders and missionaries--were the guests of the kabaka at the capital: they could only acquire food or labor when the kabaka supplied it, and were forced to offer their goods to the kabaka on his terms.[7] The absolute nature of the kabaka's control over foreign travel and trade was illustrated by Mwanga's killing of Bishop Hannington in 1885; he had aroused suspicion when he failed to enter from the correct direction and changed his travel route without informing the kabaka .[8]

Neither the authority of the kabaka nor Buganda's well-developed forms of hierarchical exchange could withstand the negative effects of the caravan trade which reached to Buganda in search of sources of ivory that had been depleted closer to the coast. Traders acquired slaves to carry ivory tusks to the coast, and the existence of a market for human beings transformed the practice of utilizing the labor of war captives into more aggressive forms of slave raiding. Ivory harvesting easily merged into slave raiding, as guns were the tools of both trades, and sources of ivory were quickly depleted.[9]

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[5]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 64/123.

[6]Mackay, 216-7; Waller, 22.

[7]Mackay by his sister, 216-7; Mackay journal quoted in Waller, 30.

[8]Ashe, Chronicles, 72-73.

[9]Steven Feierman, "A Century of Ironies in East Africa (c.1780-1890), in Curtin, Philip, Steven Feierman, Leonard Thompson, Jan Vansina. African History: From Earliest

The argument that late 19th century enslavement was different in degree and character from earlier uses of war captives contradicts a tradition of scholarship on Buganda that views Ganda slavery as static or as a phenomenon that increased in scale without having serious social repercussions.[10] The view that accelerating enslavement is central to the Buganda civil war is based on recorded memories of the nature of enslavement, the documented increase in raiding and captives taken into Buganda, evidence of slave buyers' participation in Ganda war making, and the ways that the kabaka's loss of authority to his chiefs was connected to slave raiding.

Baganda remember the time when people began to be sold to the coast. Selling people for cloth was entirely different than other kinds of nonfreedom (such as pawning) that people experienced in their lives. According to Kiwanuka, Kabaka Mutesa was the first to allow the selling of people. The impact of an Arab selling cloth in 1868 were recorded by Apolo Kaggwa,

> [Mutesa] found an Arab by name Wamisi had arrived at the capital of Nakawa, bringing with him a lot of cloths and many other things. The Kabaka distributed cloths to princesses and ladies ....[to pages and specific chiefs] ... later on he gave cloths to all chiefs and ordered them to buy. Many people, boys and girls were sold to the Arabs in exchange for cloths.[11]

Times to Independence 2nd ed., New York: Longman, 1995:352-376, 354.

[10]Fallers, "Social Stratification," 111-2; Christopher C Wrigley, "The Changing Economic Structure of Buganda," in Lloyd Fallers, ed., The King's Men, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964:16-63, 19, 21, 25; Rowe; Twaddle, 59. Kiwanuka argues that there was no slave trade until after 1860, 167.

[11]Kiwanuka, 167; Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 66/124.

In 1883 O'Flaherty reported that he had had a conversation with Kabaka Mutesa about the effects of trading slaves to the Coast. Mutesa said that two years earlier he had been trading ivory, but "such a thirst for cloth has caught hold of [the Ganda] that they will sell men and women for guns, powder, and shot, cloth, soap, etc." According to O'Flaherty, Mutesa regretted the trade, but felt he could not prevent it.[12] A son of one of the first Christian chiefs described the late 19th century as a time when "a piece of soap could buy a man, and a measure of bafuta [cotton cloth] could buy many slaves."[13]

One indication that raiding for slaves to sell to Arab traders was changing the nature of Buganda's wars is the intensification of conflict during the 19th century.[14] Kaggwa's history describes not only more conflict, but also more conflicts resulting in the death of the leaders of the expeditions. He names "a lot of slaves" as well as women and cattle, as booty from battles in this period.[15] The huge increase in the number of royal wives also suggests that the nature of warfare was changing.[16] Mackay wrote in 1881 "One army has been sent east to murder and plunder. Not even the natives themselves can call it war, they all say it is for robbery and devastation."[17] He wrote to the Times in

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[12]O'Flaherty, CMS Archives, quoted in Waller, 31.

[13]E.M.K. Mulira, Sir Apolo Kaggwa, CKCMG, MBE Kampala: Buganda Bookshop, 1949, seen courtesy John Rowe.

[14]Waller, 31; Kiwanuka states that the power of the monarchy increased, 108; Rowe, Twaddle says patterns of plundering were formalized, 13.

[15]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 63/122.

[16]Musisi, "Elite Polygyny", Signs.

[17]Mackay by his sister, 185 (check page).

January of 1889 that Buganda and Bunyoro "have generally large armies in the field, in one direction or another, devastating whole regions of their inhabitants." Kabaka Mutesa attacked estates which had been protected from raiding 'from time immemorial'; these included the estates of Lubale, and also estates of the Namasole. These violations of Ganda morality may have been Mutesa's test of the power of Lubale, as Rowe suggests, but it is also possible that the estates became vulnerable as social disorder and the need to supply traders increased.[18]

According to Mackay, Arabs supplied the guns and powder for the plundering expeditions, and then received "women, children, and ivory" procured in the raids as payment.[19] Traders sent agents into the field with the armies to select the slaves they wanted.[20] Kiwanuka observes that Ganda military success declined after 1880; this is perhaps because Buganda's neighbors were also participating in the exchange of cloth and guns for ivory and slaves. Richard Waller outlines the increasing importance of guns in Buganda: in 1875 there had been approximately 500; in 1882, Felkin complained "Mutesa's cry is always guns and gunpowder"; he calculated that there were 2,000 guns in the country, and guns and powder had completely replaced all other trade items. Waller notes that in the 1880s Mackay described traders bringing nothing but guns, and O'Flaherty reported the arrival of a trader with 600 rifles.[21]

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[18] For example, his raid on Batombogwe hill; Kaggwa, 82/133, also 65/123; Rowe.

[19]Mackay, 435.

[20]Waller, 32.

[21]Waller, 29.

Kabaka Mutesa brought the caravan trade closer to his court in order to maintain his supervision of the distribution of goods, but eventually was overcome by forces inherent in the trade that he could not control. Waller identifies three stages in Buganda's external trade: a first stage in which royal agents traded on behalf of the kabaka in Karagwe; a second stage after the death of Kabaka Suna when trade shifted to the Ukerewe Islands and Kabaka Mutesa controlled access to Buganda by controlling canoe transport of traded goods across the Victoria Nyanza; and a third stage, in the 1880s, when the focus of trade shifted to Mutesa's court.[22] Waller argues that the kabaka had used the distribution of prestige goods, such as guns and slaves, to enhance his power and his followers' obligation to him: the huge increase in both trade goods and plunder unbalanced the system and the kabaka's place in the center of it.[23] Since the mutual obligations and relationships in Buganda society were expressed in the exchange of tribute and gifts, it makes sense that social relationships were fundamentally disrupted by massive increases in the goods being exchanged. The collapse of authority that characterized late nineteenth century Buganda was not merely a result of an enlarged market: it was also a consequence of the nature of the trade. The possibility of gaining wealth and power by selling slaves introduced a new kind of violence into the relationship of the kabaka to his chiefs, and of chiefs to their people. This is evident in the increasing autonomy of the chiefs, and in Kabaka Mwanga's ultimately ineffective attempts to re-assert control over them.

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[22]Waller, 28.

[23]Waller, 32.

The Dissolution of Authority

A new kind of authority figure emerged in East African societies with the expansion of trade in ivory and in slave-taking and slave-holding. "Rugaruga" were followers of a powerful big man who broke the rules of social interaction and exerted power over others through military force.[24] The way people lived in their environment changed in response: they grouped themselves into large defensive settlements, behind walls of stone and spiny cactus, whose ruined outlines are still sometimes visible in the rural landscape. In the well-developed bureaucracy of Buganda, the destabilizing potential of a new kind of trade manifested itself in changes in the action and role of chiefs, and in the total deterioration of the authority of the king, which began under Kabaka Mutesa and reached its culmination with the overthrow of Kabaka Mwanga in 1888. Most histories of the period explain the collapse of the kabakaship in terms of Mwanga's personal qualities: his youth and insecurity; his excessive attachment to pages who were his lovers and his consequent inability to value the advice of senior chiefs; his pagan small-mindedness and fear of the followers of new religions.[25] While it is true that Mwanga did not lead Buganda effectively when he assumed the kabakaship in 1884, it is possible that elements of irrationality that were inherent in circumstances in the 1880s have been attributed to

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[24]Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, 75.

[25] Gorju, 120; Gray, 15; Wright, 28; Kiwanuka, 194. I see the growing power of chiefs as a descent into chaos fuelled by slaving, and not as a potentially competent emerging bureaucracy, cf. Low, Buganda and British Overrule, 4; and "The Northern Interior," 334; Fallers, "Social Stratification," 111; Wrigley "Changing Economic Structure," 25-6, Twaddle
Kakungulu, 38, 59.

Mwanga's personality. This was a time when things were turned upside down, when young men obtained power they did not deserve, and strong government from the center of the kingdom became impossible. Ganda chiefs did not manifest the inversion of all socially appropriate behaviour that characterized the rugaruga, but they amassed and deployed wealth and force in ways that were fundamentally destructive.

Chiefs of the border sazas who came into unsupervised contact with traders were the first ones able to trade on their own account: the Pokino and Kago irritated Kabaka Mutesa by selling ivory and obtaining cloth without his permission and this may have contributed to the redirection of trade first to Ukerewe and then to Rubaga.

The contribution of trade to the growing power of chiefs is most obvious in the position of the Katikiro. The Katikirro's responsibility for overseeing receipt of tribute and distribution of the kabaka's wealth made it a chiefship that brought wealth to the holder.[26] Describing how wealth had derived from control of land in an earlier time, Stanislaus Mugwanya explained in 1906 that "The Namasole or king's mother, got estates, and originally was a person of more consideration and honour than the Katikiro."[27] Mackay's journal gives an indication of the control the Katikirro exerted over trade: for five months Katikirro Mukasa had blocked Mutesa's orders that Arab traders be supplied with canoes, and Mackay told Mutesa that Katikirro Mukasa "was practically causing rebellion in the

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[26]Twaddle associates the katikiros' wealth with the political influence of 19th century katikiros in issues of succession, 34.

[27]Enquiry, Rhodes House Af S 17.

country".[28] He took on two of the most important chiefly titles as well as being Katikiro--the Sekibobo of Kyaggwe and the Pokino of Buddu. Both of these provinces were critical to long distance trade.[29] The power of this Prime Minister over Kabaka Mutesa was formidable: in 1881 the Kabaka made blood brotherhood with Mukasa, and directed that Mukasa's sons should be carried like princes.[30] Possibly the Katikiro was taking advantage of Mutesa's vulnerability because of his incurable gonorrhea, as Rowe suggests, but the economic dimension of his growing power cannot be discounted, either. Ashe noted in 1888 that Mukasa had an important role in directing the ivory trade, and foreign visitors commented on the wealth and impressive character of the Katikiro.[31] Kiwanuka records that Mukasa had the reputation of a man who sold his own relatives into slavery.[32]

The ekitongole type of chiefship was also transformed by long distance trade. As we have seen, Kabakas Suna and Mutesa increased ebitongole chieftainships in order to channel new economic activities and to contain their effects. (Chapter 2). When the possibilities for trading became more available, and as guns became more significant in raiding, an ekitongole chief who had guns because the purpose of his chiefship was hunting or defense could become wealthy independent of the kabaka by raiding and

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[28]Mackay, 150.

[29]Kiwanuka, 208.

[30]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 85/135.

[31]Ashe, Chronicles, 116.

[32] M.S.M. Kiwanuka in Kaggwa, Kings, 184.

disposing of slaves on his own. Kaggwa explained the remarkable wealth of batongole chiefs in terms of their success in war:

> Their areas carried great honour and people used to flock to them and they were therefore well cultivated...When the Kabaka was at war, people in such areas (Bitongole) excelled in capturing the booty for they were always young men. From what they had captured their chief (Mutongole) would choose the best and consequently became a rich man. Such a chief would also act as the Kabaka's messenger and thus again become rich for he was given presents.[33]

The presents given by kabakas to ebitongole chiefs may suggest that Kabakas Mutesa and Mwanga recognized the possibility that these chiefs might act outside of their control and attempted to maintain their allegiance.

Michael Twaddle's richly detailed biography of Semei Kakungulu documents the potential independence of an ekitongole chief. Kakungulu obtained an ekitongole for elephant hunting from Kabaka Mutesa in 1884. Kakungulu had arrived in Buganda with experience of elephant hunting, and Mutesa gave him "guns, gun caps, and bullets", and land in Buddu. This land had been attached to a different chieftaincy, but was reallocated to the new ekitongole, which was called "Ekirumba njovu"--'for hunting elephants', and Kakungulu's title was "omulumba njovu"--' hunter of elephants'. [34] Although nominally under the control of Kabaka Mutesa and required to turn over all the ivory he acquired, Kakungulu's control of one hundred guns enabled him to build up an independent following through predation. According to Paulo Kibi, at this time Kakungulu had a drumbeat:

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[33]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 340/277.

[34] Twaddle, Kakungulu, 37.

I eat what I choose:
I eat what I find:
I eat whatever does not belong to me.[35]

Kakungulu and his men raided Nkore on their own, without instructions from Mutesa, and disposed of the cattle and slaves they obtained in Kiziba. Even when Kakungulu and his men participated in a raid against Bunyoro initiated by the Kabaka, Kakungulu's men got in trouble for looting inside Buganda. That his activities went beyond the pale of appropriate behaviour for subordinate chiefs is evident in the story that Katikiro Mukasa either placed Kakungulu in stocks or threatened him with death; he was only saved by the intervention of his blood brother the Pokino or, in another version of the story, by the Kabaka.[36]

The power that men like Kakungulu created for themselves in the tumultuous circumstances of late nineteenth century East Africa was mercurial. As the chief of an elephant hunting ekitongole, located on a route along which guns were being brought into Buganda, Kakungulu raided people and cattle without passing them on to the Kabaka, and collected followers of his own.[37] Kakungulu was able to attract followers by offering to arm them, and also by trading ivory for enslaved people. He was not, however, able to maintain the following he created for himself. Kakungulu lost his chiefship, the Ekitongole of Ekirumba Njovu, when Mwanga was deposed, demonstrating that in Buganda, the arrangement of the kingdom allowed the center to exert a degree of control over the

[35] Twaddle 21.

[36]Twaddle, 22-3.

[37]Twaddle, 37.

destabilizing force of men with guns. As soon as Kakungulu lost the chiefship, seventy of his followers deserted him for the new Katikiro, Honorat Nyonyintono. These men had "belonged" to Kakungulu, but they chose to align themselves with the strongest leader available.[38] Kakungulu's experience suggests the similarity of late nineteenth century ekitongole in Buganda and rugaruga south of the Nyanza: in both situations, big men controlled unfree people who had guns.

The Kabaka's control over raiding deteriorated markedly as the amount of military hardware in the nation increased in the 1880s. Ashe reported that the escort taking him to the capital made an "impromptu slave raid" during the journey.[39] In 1862, members of the party escorting James Grant to Buganda had been punished for raiding without permission.[40] Waller also points out that Pearson estimated that 75% of the slaves taken in a raid were not reported to the Kabaka, "the rest having been secretly disposed of by the chiefs." [41] By the 1880s the Kabaka received only ivory, and chiefs retained cattle, women, and slaves.[42] This represents a diminution in the Kabaka's share, and may have been a recognition that chiefs would retain slaves and cattle on their own whether or not the Kabaka gave them permission.

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[38]Twaddle, 28.

[39]Waller, 32.

[40]James Augustus Grant, A Walk Across Africa, or Domestic Sceneries from my Nile Journal, (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons), 191.

[41]Waller, 32.

[42]Kaggwa, Mpisa, 157-160, quoted in Twaddle, 14.

The increasing social instability was expressed in allocations of land: Mwanga took large areas from saza chiefs between 1886 and 1888 in order to create four new Bitongole, which he placed under the control of young men. These were the Ekitongole Ekiwuliriza, the chiefship of listening carefully; the Ekitongole Ekigwanika--chiefship of wealth; the Ekitongole Ekijasi--the chiefship of guns; and the Ekitongole Ekiyinda--the chiefship of menacing noise.[43] Not only did Mwanga take land that had been under the control of saza chiefs to make the new ebitongole chiefships, he told the new batongole to establish their chiefships in every saza, presumably by force. According to Fallers, these bitongole represented Mwanga's attempt to remove power from the saza chiefs and give it to young chiefs he could control more easily.[44] However,in the highly disordered condition of Buganda in the 1880s, it is difficult to assert that Mwanga was actually creating new chiefships in order to advance the structure of the state.[45] A more accurate assessment might be that in creating huge new ebitongole, Mwanga was merely naming as chiefs new holders of power who had emerged from circumstances of the violent exchange of ivory and people for guns, and attempting to claim power over them.[46] As Kiwanuka points out, Buganda was in such turmoil at the time that chiefly authority over land was not readily discernible. Kiwanuka claims that people deserted other chiefs to become the followers of

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[43]Kiwanuka, History, 198-9; Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 99/143.

[44]Fallers, 64-116.

[45]See references for footnote 24.

[46]According to Twaddle, the purpose of these new ekitongole chieftaincies was to guard Mwanga, but the information available about them suggests they were acting on their own, in their own interest. Twaddle, 59.

the batongole, and "by 1888 the four new Bitongole had nearly 100,000 men, all young and arrogant."[47]

The new batongole proceeded to plunder all over the country. Apolo Kaggwa's account of this period describes the Kabaka's lack of control:

> the morals of the country became deteriorated as we young men adapted a bad habit of robbing people of their cattle and goats at random; and people found on the way were killed for no just cause. The Kabaka knew of this and he did not care for the well-being of his country at all. He liked the young men more than his chiefs.[48]

Kiwanuka states that the batongole and their followers "became the rulers of the country"; they raided and took captives without any inhibitions.[49]

Kabaka Mwanga himself took part in the process of raiding and enslaving Baganda. In 1888 the Kabaka had made a tour of the country. A royal journey to "show the kabaka" and to receive tribute was not an unusual thing, but this tour proved "nearly as disastrous to his unhappy subjects as a foreign invasion, since he ruthlessly robbed and raided his own people."[50] In Kyagwe, Singo, and Buddu, he raided hundreds of cattle, and seized "vast numbers" of women and children. On his return to the capital, he distributed these as gifts to his pages. The right of a kabaka to sacrifice the lives of people in a "kiwendo" for the spiritual well-being of the nation was accepted; Mwanga's use of

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[47]Kiwanuka, 199.

[48]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 98/142.

[49]Kiwanuka, 199.

[50]Ashe, Chronicles, 90; also James. S. Miti, A History of Buganda, n.d.; a manuscript translation in Makerere University Library Africana Collection, (N.B. pagination of this document is unreliable), 252-297.

captured subjects to enrich the members of his palace household, who had not even been introduced in the palace in the appropriate manner by chiefs, was not acceptable.

Mwanga's final, unsuccessful attempt to consolidate his authority was his demand that his people dig a large artificial lake in the capital: requiring unnecessary work was a way of making people demonstrate their allegiance that had been deployed by other kabakas.[51] Everyone, of every status, was required to participate in this public work or face heavy fines. Ashe reports that

> The chiefs came with extreme reluctance, many of them smarting from the loss of their wives and other valuable property extorted from them during the King's progress.[52]

A royal drum was beaten calling people to work on the lake before dawn. Kaggwa wrote that anyone who did not arrive early in the morning was fined one woman and one head of cattle; Ashe reported that insufficient service at the lake resulted in fines of large numbers of women, expensive cloths, and guns; Zimbe wrote that they were fined, "women, slaves, livestock, and loads of barkcloth"; and that the treasurer's house "became a huge prison camp overflowing with alleged defaulters".[53] Baganda remember not only the unreasonable fines, but also the horrifying humiliation forced on important, old chiefs who were made to sit in the mud if they arrived late.[54] Mwanga's bizarre behavior in the last months before

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[51]For example, Kabaka Mutesa had required the Kaima to build a hill inside his palace in 1871; Kaggwa, 78/139.

[52]Ashe, Chronicles, 90.

[53]Kaggwa Basekabaka 100/143; Ashe Chronicles, 93, Zimbe, Buganda Ne Kabaka, 133-4, quoted in Kiwanuka, 200.

[54]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 100/143.

he was overthrown can be understood as an attempt to demonstrate authority over his subjects which he had already lost, and also, as a means to obtain slaves by fining his subjects in people and in creating situations in which they would avoid humiliation by offering bribes.

Kabaka Mwanga was deposed because his chiefs withdrew the will to be governed by him: the firsthand accounts of the events in 1888 are reminiscent of the history of Kabaka Kagulu, a century and a half earlier, whose reign ended when his chiefs retreated to a hill overlooking the palace and jeered.[55] This moment came for Mwanga when the readers refused to embark in canoes for a journey on the lake they suspected would lead to their deaths: Mwanga's Katikiro told him "All Buganda refuses to take you to Sesse."[56] Mwanga, like Kagulu, was overthrown when people became fed up with entirely unreasonable demands. In Mwanga's case, we can recognize that profound social changes contributed to the Kabaka's unreasonable actions and unworkable relationship with his chiefs.

Buganda's Civil War: Social Violence with Religious Categories

The fall of Mwanga was one moment in an unfolding crisis of authority in Buganda which was much larger than a palace coup. Fundamental terms--of how to be a chief, how to express authority, and how and why to be productive--had been altered by the possibilities and also the violence of long distance trade. This moment of political, social, and economic turmoil also contained a crisis in ideology, because Arab traders and

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[55]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 65, also Chapter 2.

[56]Ashe, Chronicles, 102.

European explorers had introduced new ways of thinking about the world in the form of Islam and Christianity. The conversion of large numbers of Baganda to these faiths in the nineteenth century was so unique, so attractive to observers, and so clearly genuine that it has tended to overshadow other aspects of the processes of change underway at the time.[57] Without denying the significance of conversion for individuals and for their community, it is important to keep in mind that the people who became Moslems and Christians did not stop being Ganda. The late nineteenth century was an encompassingly difficult time, intellectually as well as on every other level. People expected the kabaka to be powerful and to be in the center of things, but no kabaka filled that expectation from Mutesa's reign onwards. World religions became a principle for organizing relationships at a time when other means of organizing them were not functioning effectively.

The new religions gave young men powerful spiritual resources. Reading and prayer gave them access to spiritual power without the mediation of their elders. The world views of Christianity and Islam offered comfort and security lacking in a difficult time. In the new religions, positions of spiritual leadership were open to young converts, who had been pages at the lowest level of the Ganda chiefly hierarchy.

Ganda Moslems, Protestants, and Catholics used their new sets of ideas to create social institutions that did the kinds of things that organizations of people had always done in Buganda. That is, a religion was not only a spiritually effective practice and a form of identity, but also a way of organizing economic activity and an instrument for wielding political power. "English religion" (Protestantism), "French religion" (Catholicism), and

[57]See footnote 1.

Islam functioned like clans or important chiefships: they brought people together under well-respected leaders for political and economic actions as well as spiritual ones. In the highly unstable context of the late nineteenth century, the new religious categories gave Ganda readers a means to re-group the authority that had been dissipated by the actions of the kabaka and by some chiefs. As Michael Wright points out, Ganda categories of clan and family continued to be salient, and throughout the war people defended and protected family and clan relatives of different faiths. [58]

Religions became alternative categories in which people could continue to make the social arrangements they had always made.[59] It has been said that the Baganda were fighting each other for religion, but this ignores the larger East African context and the instabilities that would have led to armed conflict whether or not the protagonists had adopted new religions. A more accurate perception might be that they were fighting each other with religion, since the logic of the organization of the groups, their sources of supply, and their maneuvers to gain political power were all connected to their sets of beliefs. Fighting with religion made ending the war particularly difficult, because the new religions were bereft of the conflict- resolving role that had been played by Ganda spirit mediums, and because both the ideological and economic dimensions of the new religious communities facilitated a prolongation of hostilities.

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[58]Wright, 114-5.

[59]According to Bakale Mukasa "They did not fight for religion but for chieftainship", quoted in Twaddle, 40-41.

Baganda followed the new religions in the ways that they had followed spiritual leaders in the past. Allegiance to a leader was an element of allegiance to a religion; even the Christian missionaries accepted the role of nurturing "their" Christians. When the Katikirro Honarat Nyonyintono was killed in a battle, his followers found it impossible to continue fighting, "they were not cowardly but were distraught and did not see why they should fight just for Protestants."[60] The connection of personal and religious allegiance meant that it was logical for people to switch religions in order to gain chiefships: Simioni Segutta had been a Catholic in 1886, but became a Protestant when offered the position of Kiryagonja, when he did not get the chiefship he had wanted as a Catholic. Yosefu Sebowa was promised a chiefship if he converted to Catholicism, which he did, and became Kisalosalo.[61]

The new religious communities became arenas for competition over status in the same way that Ganda chiefs had competed with each other over relative status in other circumstances. The individual chosen to lead Christian groups in any given engagement had authority over the division of spoils. Before one battle in 1890, a messenger had to be sent back to Mwanga to enquire whether it was acceptable for a Protestant, Kakungulu, to take over the leadership of a campaign whose original Catholic leader was indisposed.[62] The group of Catholics and Protestants who retreated to Ankole clashed with the Christian group that had retreated to the lake over the issue of seniority and control of

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[60]Wamala, quoted in Twaddle, 44.

[61]Wright, 116.

[62]Twaddle 51.

spoils: these groups were known as the "grain-eaters" and the "fish-eaters".[63] Entirely new forms of authority fostered further conflicts over relative status. For example, a conflict arose between the Pokino and the Katikirro because the Pokino was lower than the Katikirro in the chiefly hierarchy but higher than him in the church council hierarchy: he did not want to take orders from someone who had a lower position than his in the church council.[64]

The new religious factions controlled the organization of production and of trade. In the past, the followers of a Lubaale occupied land associated with that spirit; the Mandwa was given sufficient land for his or her followers, however large that group became (Chapter 2). Catholics held a monopoly on canoes at times during the war, so that lack of access to lake transport was a problem for Protestants, and one of the great weaknesses of Kabaka Kalema.[65] The Catholic and Protestant coalition suffered because they needed food, and essential supplies of food were controlled by Ganda chiefs who were not readers in Kyagwe and Bulemezi.[66] Each faction had sources of supplies from the Coast. Moslems got their guns through Arabs, and Christians got their guns through the former missionary Stokes. Co-religionists who were not Baganda participated actively in the war through their efforts to provide supplies. Miti states that Kipanda, an Arab trader

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[63]Twaddle, 51.

[64]Ashe, Chronicles, 141.

[65]Ashe, Chronicles, 41;Twaddle, 47.

[66]Hamu Mukasa, Simuda Nyuma, 383, quoted in Twaddle 47.

at Magu at the south end of the lake, sent a dhow of guns and ammunition which he paid for himself, and told his people to attack and sink Stokes' boat if they found it.[67]

Ganda Christians and Moslems created organizations that had religious, political, and economic dimensions at a time when raiding and plunder had become one of the main occupations of groups of people. The destruction of the civil war, and the terrible calamity of people slaving inside their own society, have been underemphasized by historians who have focussed on the religious identity of the combatants, and described the war as a conflict between new and old ideas.[68] The accounts of the war written by participants, and also the statements of non-Ganda observers, describe an effort to overthrow an unsatisfactory king that spun out of control in the volatile conditions in which young men with guns had power.

In 1888, Moslem, Catholic, and Protestant leaders had made blood brotherhood with each other before beginning the battle which caused Mwanga to flee: they were making an effort to overcome the potential conflict inherent in their different religious identities.[69] Once they had installed Kiwewa as Kabaka, they assigned chiefships in a way that attempted to divide positions of high status between Moslems and Christians. This arrangement quickly dissolved in conflicts over which religious group ought to hold which

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[67]Miti, 349.

[68] Part of the challenge of the war for Ganda Christians and Moslems was to find ways to integrate new and powerful ideas into their organization of Ganda society, but to frame the conflict in a tradition vs. modernity dichotomy ignores the reality of fundamental change in the region in the nineteenth century.

[69]Kiwanuka, 205.

chiefships. Not long after a fight which caused many Christians to withdraw to Ankole, Kiwewa lost control of Mengo in conflict with Muslim chiefs, and he was replaced by Kalema, a son of Mutesa who had been considered by everyone a better candidate for Kabaka than Kiwewa. During the brief reign of Kalema (1888- October 1889), conflict between the factions escalated from raids on Kyaggwe cattle by Ganda Christians in Ankole to violence and plundering that led to the depopulation of Buganda.[70]

The civil war protagonists were the same people who had been involved in raiding and plundering outside of Buganda and sometimes inside it: the neglected role of elephant hunters was identified by Hamuli Suku, who remembered that the Moslem defeat was a result of the joint action of "all of them, the pagans, the readers, and the hunters"[71] Kaggwa acknowledged that in an engagement he led in Mawokota "the Mohamedans were defeated and their wives plundered", but he states that the wives were later returned.[72] The Protestant missionary Ashe, who returned to Buganda during the war, wrote that probably not all the women had been returned after that engagement, and that loot was the main objective of the combatants.[73] One of the Christian combatants later explained that in re-taking Mengo, the Christian army failed to capture Kalema because people stopped to plunder. "What saved Kalema was our poverty. Just when our victory

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[70]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 110/149.

[71]Hamuli Suku oral testimony 1969, English translation at Department of Religious Studies, Makerere, by Abdul Kasozi, quoted in Twaddle, 58.

[72]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 116/153.

[73]Ashe, Chronicles, 137, 139.

was almost complete, everybody went to the place of the coastal traders in order to plunder the cloth."[74]

James Miti, who followed his participation in the war with a distinguished career in the Uganda Protectorate government, stated clearly that enslavement was a goal of making war, to "plunder and carry off men and women from the vanquished side on every occasion was the order of the day at that time" and "it was each warrior's ambition to fight hard in order to be able to return home with plunder and captives".[75] He acknowledged that he himself had taken "not less than seventeen female captives and some six male prisoners of war" in the attack on the Buvuma Islands in which Major MacDonald had participated and forbidden any enslavement, and suggested that many hundreds of captives had been smuggled away into Buganda by other Ganda warriors.

Miti also described an incident in the war which indicates that people were not only being enslaved, but that many of the captured people were being sold to Arabs. Kabarega, the king of Bunyoro, had sent an army to assist Kalema in 1890. This army got confused in retreating from a battle, and accidentally went further into Buganda, where "they fell into a trap and many of them were captured and made prisoners or slaves." Miti describes how the captured people attempted to prove their value to the Ganda captors, pleading that they should remain with the person who captured them:

> A Munyoro potter or blacksmith would plead his case by assuring his Baganda captors that his knowledge of pottery or of the manufacture of

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[74]Paulo Kibi testimony, quoted in Twaddle, Kakungulu, 55.

[75]Miti, 409.

> spears, as the case might be, would be found very useful if he were only kept under their service.[76]

After the Moslems had been driven from Mengo in 1889, according to Miti, they began plundering food and property all over Ssingo, and into Ggomba and Busujju.

> Women, children and even old men fell victims to the Mohamedan's acts of cruelty, some of them being killed on the spot, others being carried away for sale to his Arab friend as slaves.[77]

When Christian chiefs organized themselves to stop the raiding, they engaged in a battle in Lumanyo, when they surprised the Moslems and routed them so that the retreating army dropped their plunder. Captured women and children were abandoned along the road. The Christian army returned them to their families, and the children whose families could not be found (because the children were too young to identify themselves) were adopted.[78] A praise song devised for Kakungulu during the war "Kangabaana, eyawangula abensambya" --"the scatterer of children, the one who conquered those of Nsambya" suggests the social consequences of the war.[79] That children and their mothers were targets for enslavement led to a problem encountered in Buganda some years later, when Ganda who had been children in the war were unable to successfully contract marriages because they did not know their real clans.

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[76]Miti, 359.

[77]Miti, 368.

[78]Miti, 368.

[79]Twaddle, 78.

Baganda remembered the war as a time of unimaginable destruction. The population of Bunyoro is said to have increased because so many people fled from war and the danger of enslavement in Buganda.[80] An image that recurs in descriptions of the war is of corpses rotting by the roadside because no one was available to bury them. People stopped cultivating out of fear of fighting, and in the ensuing famine people dug up the stumps of banana trees in order to eat the roots. Warriors with guns "used to assuage their hunger by force of arms, carrying guns with them wherever they went and threatening to shoot anyone who would not give them food."[81] An outbreak of bubonic plague followed the famine. Estimates of the death toll range from 7,000 to 400,000.[82] After October 1889, Moslem armies had moved into and then out of Kyaddondo and Busiro because they were empty of people and animals and there was nothing left to raid; they then proceeded to plunder all of Kyagwe. Carl Peters passed through Kyaggwe early in 1890 and found "a desolation of destroyed banana groves, with vultures gorging on unburied corpses and the wind raising flurries of ashes in the burnt villages."[83]

The civil war fundamentally undermined the institution of the kabaka. Success for any of the factions in the civil war depended on having a prince of the drum--one entitled to become king because he was a direct descendant of a kabaka. Among the

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[80]J. Nyakature, Anatomy of an African Kingdom, 144, quoted in Twaddle, 60.

[81]Miti 361.

[82]The lower estimate is from Ashe, Chronicles, 144; the higher estimate is from Kaggwa, 119/155.

[83]Wright, 101.

first actions of the Christian group after it withdrew to Ankole in 1888 was to try to acquire a prince of the drum. Bawmweyana, one of the sons of Mutesa, bribed his guard to allow him to escape to join the Christians, but Kalema had sent people to watch for him after he escaped, and he was captured. Kalema then decided to kill all the princes of the drum, and also all the princesses, because if they had no potential kabaka in their camp, they would have no means of regaining power.[84] Princesses were killed as well as princes because the British were ruled by a woman, and therefore it seemed possible that Christians might put a princess on the throne. One generation earlier, Mutesa's mother the Namasole Muganzirwaza had caused the deaths of eleven of Suna's sons through starvation: only Mbogo, Mainja, and Kabaka Mutesa had been left alive.[85] These two successive wholesale executions of princes may be an indication of the accelerating instability of the nineteenth century, because no earlier kabaka had considered it necessary to kill all his brothers. Even the practice of imprisoning princes of the drum had started in the late 18th century under Kabaka Semakokiro (who had killed his brother to obtain the kabakaship).[86] The killing of two generations of princes (and one of princesses) was a disaster for Buganda because it created a dearth of potential effective leadership. When Kalema died of smallpox after his retreat from Mengo, the only possible kabakas were the Moslem leader Mbogo, two young sons of Kalema and Kiwewa who were out of the country with Catholic missionaries, and Mwanga, who had already been deposed once.

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[84]Miti, 337; Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 114.

[85]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 76/130.

[86]Kiwanuka, 129.

The Christians turned to Mwanga because they had no other means of maintaining a credible bid for control of the kingdom. Since Mwanga had demonstrated his ineptness as a ruler and the chiefs had demonstrated their lack of respect for him the first time they overthrew him, his return to power inevitably entailed a further diminution of the authority of the kabaka. Unfortunately, the elements of Ganda society that served to balance the power of the kabaka were also in decline. The Kimbugwe, the chief who was officially the keeper of the kabaka's "twin" (an elaborate charm which contained the kabaka's umbilical cord), had the right to speak against the kabaka in the Lukiko and to try the kabaka for improper actions; but the Kimbugwe chiefship was abolished in 1892 because "during the Christian reign, we could not honor the traditional twin-god."[87] Spirit mediums, who had served to safely focus legitimate criticism of the kabaka also lost their influence with the spread of Christianity and Islam, and with the general disorder of the time. Kakungulu was said to have a new drumbeat when the Christians and their allies gathered on Bulingugwe island

> I eat whatever I find:
> I eat whatever belongs to emmandwa.[88]

Kabaka Mutesa had been obliged to entertain and submit to the actions of the priest of the shrine of Mukasa, the Lubaale of the Victoria Nyanza. The son of that priest had lost his followers and his land was taken by the Gabunga in the 1890s; the grandson claimed to be "an important mutaka in Sesse as well as in Buganda" but, when questioned, he admitted

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[87]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 104/146.

[88]Paulo Kibi testimony, quoted in Twaddle, 50.

that he received land as a tenant of the Gabunga, and he performed services as the Gabunga's man.[89]

The crisis of newly strong chiefs and a thoroughly weak kabaka led to "wars that did not let go."[90] In 1888, Mwanga was driven out, Christians withdrew, and Kalema replaced Kiwewa as Kabaka. In 1889,a coalition of the forces of Christian chiefs and the forces of avowedly pagan chiefs brought Mwanga back to Mengo by the end of the year, after battles that had left fields where "skulls are as numerous ... as mushrooms."[91] Groups that considered themselves supporters of the Moslem Kabaka Kalema, and after his death the Moslem Kabaka Mbogo, fought against the re-establishment of Mwanga all over Buganda. In 1892, fighting broke out in Mengo between people who identified themselves as Protestants, and people who identified themselves as Catholic. In 1893, negotiations for territory (see below) ended conflict among the new religious factions, but in 1894 and 1895, Baganda participated in fighting against the rebelling Sudanese troops. From 1897 to 1899, Mwanga and a coalition of chiefs fought against Baganda who allied themselves with "the Kampala European'. The "religious revolution" framework explains these continuing conflicts in terms of what religious group held Mengo or wanted to control it: but the triggers for each outburst of hostilities were so trivial that conflict seems

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[89]Entebbe Archives, SMP 6902, Butaka Commission Report, Guggu, Yosiya Ajabi Sumugala, and Gabunga, 384-387. Cited hereafter as Commission, with witnesses names and page numbers.

[90]Mulira, 2.

[91]Solomon Wamala, Obulamu, 51, quoted in Twaddle, 52.

to have been prolonged for its own sake. More war meant more opportunity to acquire the wealth that came from raiding. Reporting on the volatile situation in Mengo in 1890, Captain MacDonald noted that chiefs seemed to be acting in their own interest, and the Kabaka "had little control over powerful, intriguing chiefs, ripe for any contingency that promised a chance of plunder."[92]

Re-allocating Land to Make the War End

At each shift in the control of the kingdom, the victorious group re-allocated important chiefships. Naming the people who would control the sazas and the important functions of the kingdom was a way of stating the order of the nation. In the oral traditions of Buganda recorded by Apolo Kaggwa, the stories of each kabaka concluded with a list of the important chiefs during that reign; the named chiefs, in their named chiefships, constituted Buganda as it had been in that reign. In the civil war period, naming the chiefs was also a way of identifying how those who had taken control of the capital intended to manage the complicated problem of competing claims for authority between factions of chiefs. The problem faced by the groups of chiefs who came to power was to find a way to map the increasingly salient new categories of allegiance to Islam, and to 'English' and 'French' Christianity onto the structures of saza and subsidiary chiefships. Over and over again, these efforts failed. The order of Buganda, defined in chiefs of territories and chiefs of important functions, could not hold together at a time when organizing raiding had become the dominant occupation of chiefs. Furthermore, attempting to insert new religious categories into the structure of chiefships in some

[92]Macdonald Report (1893) PRO Series Fos (African) F02/60, quoted in Waller, 32.

logical way created even more instability, because the new categories always provided reasons for rationalizing renewed conflict. The various factions of chiefs attempted successively more radical techniques for combining religion and chiefly control of the provinces as the war continued.

In 1888, the Moslems and their Catholic and Protestant blood brothers assigned the katikiroship to Christians, gave more than half the saza chiefships to Moslems, and gave two heavily armed bitongole to both Christians and Moslems; but this division fell apart within six weeks because an assertive Christian chief agitated for the post of Kauta, a chiefship that included the function of cooking for the palace and also land in the central provinces. His claim upset the precarious balance of power that had been negotiated and led to an armed skirmish which caused Christians to leave for Ankole.[93] Those remaining in Mengo then had to carry out the action of identifying the chiefs of the nation again, in order to replace the Christian chiefs who had left. But this exercise in naming authority exacerbated tensions between Kiwewa and the Moslem chiefs who had brought him to power, resulting in a violent episode that ended in the departure of Kiwewa, the installation of Kalema, and a further naming of chiefships, to replace the ones who had just been killed. Both the Christian faction and the Moslem faction appointed chiefs for all the significant chiefships, even though they did not always control the sazas to which they were naming chiefs. Wright points out that the Moslems twice reappointed a chief for Kyaggwe when the intended Moslem chief was killed, even though the Moslem faction never held that area after they abandoned Mengo.

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[93]Twaddle, 38.

When the coalition of factions that identified themselves as Christian regained control of part of the mainland near Mengo in October, 1889, they named chiefs for all the sazas of the country. Two aspects of the chiefs' action reveal the intensifying crisis of authority in Buganda: the chiefs created an order of the nation that attempted to thoroughly balance the power of Protestant and Catholic factions, and they made the allocations entirely without the participation of Kabaka Mwanga. According to an eye witness, Mwanga "had no power" in the allocation; the chiefs made their decisions, and informed him afterwards.[94] This is the clearest possible evidence that the central place of authority in Buganda was empty. The structure of exchange in the country which, as Waller argues, required everything to flow into and out of the center no longer existed, and the figure who held the place that was also supposed to be that center no longer had real power.

The group of chiefs who had beaten Kalema defined Buganda as a balance of English religion adherents and French religion adherents at every level. The elaborate system they devised of alternating Protestant and Catholic chiefs appears to be an attempt to use the structure of chiefly control over territory and over subordinate chiefs to diffuse potential conflict. The system is described in detail in the report of Captain Macdonald in 1892:

> The Estates, chieftainships and posts of honour and importance were divided equally between the two parties on a system which aimed at absolute fairness and justice but which was so complicated as in itself to contribute a great and ever present source of danger. The principle adopted seems simple enough. Every holder of a post was to be under a superior of

[94]Wright, 117, 95.

> the opposite party. Thus the owner of a Catholic shamba (estate) was under a Protestant sub-chief, who in turn was subordinated to a Catholic chief and so on and vice versa. In addition to this Buganda was divided into ten districts--amasaza--five of which were headed by Catholic and five by Protestant chiefs. Below these the alternation perpetrated [sic] but in districts headed by a particular religious chief the estates belonging to him were regarded as belonging to his party i.e. religious sect.[95]

The alternation of Protestant and Catholic permeated Ganda structures of authority: even the estates of the Namasole, the Lubuga, and those of the Katikiro and Kimbugwe in every province were supposed to have subchiefs of the other religious persuasion under chiefs who held the same faith as the controllers of the estates.[96]

The orderly and logical plan imposed by the chiefs could not function in the actual conditions in Buganda at that time. In the imagined Buganda of the named chiefships, networks of chiefs expressed their relationship to each other by passing tribute up the hierarchy and receiving gifts down it, but actually the sazas were devastated by raiding, and decimated by famine and disease. The authority of chiefs should have derived from their submission to the authority of the kabaka and the kabaka's recognition of their role, but actually, there was no authority, only intense competition among powerful, armed chiefs, which was to be kept in check by their willful intention to share power.

The ordering of the nation under layers of Protestant and Catholic chiefs implied that all people in authority were to be Christian. Since not all the Baganda were Christian, this decision indicates the connection people made between political and spiritual authority

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[95]J.R.L. Macdonald, "Report on Uganda Disturbances in Spring, 1892" Entebbe Archives, quoted in L.L. Kato, "Government Land Policy in Uganda: 1889 to 1900, Uganda Journal , 35, 2 (1971) pp. 153-160, 153.

[96]Macdonald Report, quoted in Kato, 153.

--people would have to be found, of the appropriate religion, to rule in each particular locality, and the people below that chief would follow his religious lead. It is possible that the coterie of chiefs who made this plan believed that commitment to Christian faith implied a capacity to live peacefully. It is also possible that they chose complete power-sharing in every direction as a means to prevent any accusation of unfairness. Some members of the coalition that had defeated Kalema were denied a leading role with the rationalization "bhang is not religion".[97] Since bhang smoking was identified with elephant hunting, (and had been forbidden by kabakas in the past) the exclusion of bhang-smokers may have represented an attempt to eliminate the instabilities associated with new wealth and new military power.

Whatever the intentions and aspirations of the group of chiefs that devised the ordering of Buganda in alternating layers of Catholics and Protestant chiefs, the system did not work. The Baganda were used to changes in chiefship being ordinary, fluid, and easily accomplished: this system required the order of chiefship to stay exactly as it was at the moment the system had been initiated. Any change of chiefs, or any chief's change in religion, became a source of conflict between the 'English' and 'French' factions. When a chief changed his religious allegiance, he lost his control of that chiefship. This was logical since the chiefs had linked the political authority inherent in control over land to prescribed religious allegiances, but it was impossible to carry out in the context of the Ganda practice of constantly reordering chiefships. Irresolvable problems arose when the Lubuga, Mwanga's sister, changed from Catholic to Protestant. The chief Yoswa

[97]Wright, 95-96.

Wasekere changed from Protestant to Catholic, provoking another confrontation. Catholic missionaries asserted that the principle of religious freedom required that people be allowed to retain land, even if they changed religions. In the volatile atmosphere of 1890, disagreements over who should control land quickly escalated into armed confrontation between Catholics and Protestants. When a minor chief in Kyaggwe who held what was supposed to be a Protestant chiefship became a Catholic, Protestants tried to evict the chief and Catholics agitated for him to remain. Semei Kakungulu, who was at that time the chief's superior, travelled to Kyaggwe to resolve the problem, thirteen people were killed on the disputed estate, and shots were fired in Mengo.[98]

Mwanga was entirely incapable of asserting the Kabaka's authority over land that might have resolved the disputes. The chiefs considered Mwanga to be someone who could be "herded like an ox" and they manipulated him to get the decisions they wanted.[99] In 1891, a dispute arose because Mwanga had secretly given a village on Bussi Island to a Catholic, although this area should have been under the control of the Gabunga, the Saza chief of the Sesse Islands, which had been designated a Protestant chiefship. Two Catholics had been killed when they went to take possession of the land, because the Gabunga's men had refused to give it up, saying it was impossible that the land could have been transferred if the Katikirro's representative was not there to "show the land" and make the transfer. When Mwanga attempted to decide against the Gabunga, a Protestant chief stood up in the Lukiko and shouted at the Kabaka "No, sir Kabaka! You are wrong!

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[98]Macdonald report, cited in Twaddle, 77.

[99]Wright, 99.

Do not adjudge so! Where were the Katikiro's representatives? You are wrong!". Less than a generation earlier, people had been executed for sneezing in the presence of the Kabaka, but on this occasion Mwanga withdrew from the room, and the accusing chief was never punished.[100]

Lugard arrived in Buganda at this time of fulminating tension, and immediately became embroiled in the conflict over land and political authority. He was sent to set up his camp on land associated with Catholics; when the Catholics discovered that he was not a "Mufaransa" they demanded that he be moved. Mwanga told him to relocate so that he was a guest of Protestants, but he refused to obey the king's orders. "The people were badly impressed by the white visitor's boldness and positive defiance", wrote one contemporary, and the name of Kampala hill was lengthened to "Kampala Alizala Bigwe", meaning "the white man's selection of Kampala as his headquarters will result in strife."[101] The leading chiefs who were struggling to manage constant conflict over land allocation in a climate of armed suspicion began to use Lugard in the way that they had been using Mwanga and also Kalema: he became the voice of authority that justified the chiefship allocations they were seeking. Catholics as well as Protestants sought the resolution of land disputes with Lugard instead of Mwanga. [102] Lugard wrote that he

> tried to form a court of arbitration [for the land and eviction disputes] in which I could hear the circumstances from representatives of each side and would act as arbitrator. I found however that no one would agree that this

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[100]Kalikuzinga, quoted in Wright, 118.

[101]Miti, 369.

[102]Wright, 117.

> court should consist of less than some four on each side. This number led to violent and heated argument, either side telling a completely different story, both undoubtedly lying. In addition, the circumstances were so involved and intricate that I felt myself in despair of arriving at any solution.[103]

The situation described by Lugard sounds like the Lukiko, the Buganda council of chiefs, which met before the kabaka. The issues--cases related to chiefship and authority over land--were issues discussed in the Lukiko, and the atmosphere of complex and passionate debate was the atmosphere of the Lukiko. However, Lugard had taken the place of the kabaka, and the Ganda chiefs had allowed him to do it.

Why did the Baganda chiefs allow a newly arrived British agent, with a reputation for bad manners, to take on the centrally significant function of the kabaka to allocate land? It does not make sense to assume that the Baganda chiefs deferred to Lugard because they thought he had a competence or insight that they themselves lacked: a dozen years later, when the British presence was more firmly established, Baganda were adamant in protecting their control over land issues from any British meddling. European spheres of influence in Africa were not an issue inside Buganda in 1890, and at first Catholics as well as Protestants turned to Lugard as an arbitrator. Ganda chiefs gave Lugard and later British agents kabaka-like powers in the 1890s because Ganda forms of authority had been undermined first by the destabilizing cycle of long distance trade in cloth, guns, ivory and people and then by civil war. In 1890, the Ganda chiefs were trying to integrate the potentially dangerous new categories of religions into the familiar, formerly stable order of chiefs controlling land. They were failing, and constantly renewing the possibility of war,

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[103]Lugard, cited in Macdonald Report, Kato, 154.

because the order of chiefships they wanted to recreate required a powerful authority at the center. Mwanga could not be that figure, and without doing so intentionally, the Christian chiefs gave the role to "the Kampala European".[104]

The attempt to weave Protestant and Catholic allegiance into the entire structure of Ganda chiefship in every province fell apart completely with the outbreak of armed conflict in January, 1892. Catholics took Mwanga and fled from Mengo. Protestants pursued them and "plundered a lot of cattle."[105] Two months later, Kaggwa re-allocated the chiefships, giving them to Protestants. Kaggwa avoided the accusation that he was assuming the role of kabaka by resurrecting the title of Sebwana, the chief who had taken care of the kingdom between the departure of Kabaka Chwa and the arrival of Kabaka Kimera in the distant past. At this time, people discussed whether the ambitious Protestant leader Apolo Kaggwa should become kabaka. Kaggwa refused, saying it would be wrong for a peasant to become kabaka, and that as a non-royal person, he would not have the capacity to judge impartially. According to Kalikuzinga, Kaggwa said, "as a Kabaka, I

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[104]My argument against the historiographical literature on the British entry into Buganda begins with the contemporary chroniclers. Miti emphasizes British justice--Lugard paid compensation when his goats damaged someone's property, and he introduced "justice along entirely new lines", Miti 375. Kaggwa elides the period in time in which Catholics relied on Lugard as an arbitrator and defines the origin of the conflict as the Catholic complaint that "the Baganda Protestants had as their Kabaka, the Kampala European". Kaggwa 124/158. These accounts, and also those of later historians, fail to acknowledge the effort to resolve conflict which was underway at the time Lugard entered the country, and the way his assertion of authority fit in with the needs of the chiefs at that moment. Also, historians have overestimated the power wielded by British agents, for example, Kiwanuka states that from 1891 the colonial regime "took over Buganda and ended her independence," 193.

[105]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 128.

could not sleep well".[106] Instead, Kaggwa continued to forge a relationship with "the Kampala European" in which each met the other's need as a legitimizer of his own power. Kaggwa (and, initially, other chiefs as well) used Lugard and successive British agents to consolidate the emerging chiefly hegemony within Buganda, and the British used Kaggwa and the Baganda to conquer the rest of Uganda.[107]

The Catholics stopped fighting and came back to Mengo through a re-conceptualization of the structure of the kingdom: territory was assigned to different religious groups. It is not clear who made this decision, which represented a fundamentally different approach to the unending potential for contention inherent in the categories of the new religions. Kaggwa wrote about the decision as though it was made by Lugard, and most historians have followed his lead. However, Miti reports a rumor that the Catholic missionaries had appealed to Lugard for a province for their people, and that Lugard refused, saying that "as he was a white man like themselves and as such only a stranger in the country, he did not consider it within his power to settle the matter of splitting up the country. It was the duty of the people themselves, although he had a voice in the matter."[108] Lugard himself claimed, some thirty years later, that the decision had been made by the Baganda,

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[106]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 129/161; Wright, 119-120.

[107]My argument against the British/Ganda collaboration literature is that its over-emphasis on Ganda and British interaction obscures the ways Baganda used British power in their solution of Ganda problems.

[108]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 130/162; Miti, 391.

> There was never any such thing [as a "Lugard settlement"]. After the fighting in 1892 the Baganda Chiefs urged that the two parties could not live together without a recurrence of murders etc. and they urged that each should take different provinces. This they did.[109]

The Baganda had used allocation of land to define relationships between people for generations, and associating provinces with religious groups was a logical next step after the attempt to associate religion with specific chiefships. Since Baganda chiefs had been making the land and chiefship decisions before Lugard's arrival, and since the new allocation followed a thoroughly Ganda idiom regarding the meaning of land, it seems likely that Ganda chiefs made this decision also, and it became associated with Lugard when people looked back from a point in time when Ganda autonomy was diminished.

Ganda chiefs mapped religious categories onto Ganda sazas with attention to Ganda forms of meaning that might have been neglected if the re-allocation of land had been a British decision. A new drum with the beat "Reliance on the side of the Lake" was created to identify Buddu as a Catholic area. Stanislaus Mugwanya, the leader of the Catholics at that time, moved "all the Catholic chiefs who were in Bulemezi, Kyagwe, Kyadondo and those of Kimbugwe and Kaima, Mujasi and Lubuga together with all their people" and allocated a place for them to live in Buddu. The allocations were made by Mugwanya in person.[110] Bataka (clan elders) on butaka land in Buddu who were Protestants were replaced as bataka by members of their families who were Catholic, but

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[109] Entebbe Archives, S.M.P. 6902, Document identified as 221D .

[110]Entebbe Archives, SMP 6902, Butaka Commission Report, Mugwanya, 394.

clan members did not have to leave butaka land.[111] All the Protestants chiefs in Buddu received chiefships in other sazas; all the Catholic chiefs from other sazas got some amount of territory in Buddu. The Baganda chiefs who planned these complicated movements of people intended to create peace by separating the factions whose disagreements had seemed uncontrollable. At the same time, the movement of chiefs and people to newly allocated land was a re-assertion, after the chaos of the war, of the productive and orderly purposes that chiefs and their followers were supposed to fulfill.

The initial 1892 allocations of Buddu to Catholics and the three small provinces of Gomba, Butambala, and Busuju to Moslems did not create peace because the territories given to non-Protestants were too small. Moslem chiefs who had held important posts were forced to occupy minor chiefships without much land or many followers attached to them. Mugwanya later said that he could not give any chief, no matter what his status, more than four estates, "for had I done so I should not have been able to put all the Catholic Chiefs in one single County".[112] Catholics and Moslems felt that the disproportionate allocation of land to Protestants violated the moral logic of the kingdom, and so they withheld the labor which it was their obligation to supply to the center of the kingdom. Refusing to provide people to work for the kabaka was the first stage of rebellion, and tension escalated. Songs objecting to work circulated among Moslems, "The Kasujju (chief of the Moslem province Busuju) said that to work for Mwanga was to eat pigs"; and neither the Catholics nor the Moslem chiefs were able to muster respectably

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[111]Commission, Matayo Serubuzi, 422; Erenesti Kakoza, 450.

[112]Commission, Mugwanya, 399.

sized forces for work at Mengo.[113] Conflict over working for the kabaka caused the Moslems to withdraw and fight again, and as result they lost all but Butambala province in 1893. Moslems had no alternative but to scatter and live on the lands of Christian chiefs who would accept them: this marked the end of Moslem political power in Buganda.[114] The potential that Catholics' unwillingness to work might also lead to war caused a further negotiation of titles and territory in 1893. This gave the Catholic faction chiefship titles equivalent to the major titles held by Protestants, land between Buddu and Mengo, land in Mengo, and also the provinces of Mawokota, Buwekula, Sesse and Busuju.[115] Each of these actions defined the nation in symbolically significant ways as both Protestant and Catholic. Additional Mengo land gave the Catholics place in the center of the kingdom; the newly created Catholic Katikiro and other titles affirmed the equivalence of the two factions in the structure of the country, and the re-allocation of land gave the Catholic faction rich and densely populated areas on the shore of the lake.

This symbolic and practical reconstitution of the kingdom effectively ended the civil war in Buganda. This is how people remembered it thirty years later, "there had been many Civil wars in Buganda and that what had put a stop to these wars was the division of

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[113]Wright, 144, 147; Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 136/166.

[114]Kaggwa attributes these decisions to "the European" (Major MacDonald), Basekabaka, 140/168; 146/172; Miti claims that Mwanga made them after a long and inconclusive discussion by the Lukiko and MacDonald approved. Miti, 424.

[115]Kaggwa reports this as a decision made by Portal, Basekabaka 135/165; Miti reports it as a discussion in which Portal urged Mwanga and the Lukiko to take the action, 410-411.

the country".[116] The violent ambition of armed Baganda chiefs was channeled into collaborating with the British in the conquest of the neighbouring polities. Mwanga's inability to rule with authority was resolved when he finally refused to cooperate with chiefs and British agents attempting to control him. He withdrew from the capital, led a rebellion of "bitter nostalgia", and was replaced as kabaka by his infant son.[117]

In the 1890s, the relationship between Baganda and a British "Protectorate" had not become clear. The Buganda Lukiko made decisions and sometimes, for authority, attributed them to the "Kampala European"; the British Protectorate officials made decisions they assumed would be carried out by the Baganda.[118] Although the histories written by Baganda in the early colonial period describe the 1890s as a time when British power was unquestioned, scraps of popular opinion from that time suggest otherwise. Colonel Colville, the Acting Commissioner from November 1893 to December 1894, was known as "Mmandwa", a man who is possessed and therefore not responsible for his actions. Dr. Ansorge, sometime Acting Commissioner whose bizarre behaviors included impressing chiefs into a chain gang, was known as "Njota Vvu"--a man without friends

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[116] Commission, 603 letter dated 13 May 1924, to "Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the distribution of Land" signed, Kaggwa, Mugwanya, et al.

[117]Wright, 162.

[118]The later chapters of Kaggwa's Basekabaka are the most striking evidence of Ganda decisions placed in the mouths of "Kampala Europeans"; see, for example, 125, 126, 129, 162.

who had no one to bring him firewood.[119] The long term consequences of political and economic ties with Europe unfolded gradually over the next decades.

Conclusion

The familiar story of Buganda's civil war explains how the uniquely enlightened Baganda created their modern nation. Versions of this narrative usually highlight the confrontation of Christians and Moslems with Kabaka Mwanga on the shore of the Nyanza, emphasizing the inevitability of new ideas replacing old ones; the moment when Mwanga invited the IBEAC to help him win back his country, explaining British and Ganda cooperation; and Lugard handing out guns during the battle of Mengo, underlining British power and later Protestant hegemony. It is also possible to see the civil war as something not so unique; a time when Baganda are caught up in the vortex of change that transformed East African societies in the late nineteenth century, and respond in ways that have to do not only with their new religions, but also with the cultural resources of a people who had established an ordered kingdom based on relationships on permanently settled land. Placing Buganda in a larger context, the first critical moment of the civil war was the raiding in 1888 by armed, uncontrollable ebitongole chiefs and their followers, and Mwanga's royal tour in which he raided and enslaved people across the nation: the patterns of exchange which linked people and leaders had been replaced by violence. A second significant moment in the civil war was the allocation of chiefships by a group of Christian chiefs, who decided on the order of the country themselves, and informed Kabaka Mwanga afterwards: the center of Buganda's hierarchy was functionally vacant. A

[119]Wright, quoting Walker letters and Kaggwa, 169; Twaddle, 107.

protracted but essential element of the story was the failure of the system of interweaving Catholic and Protestant chiefships at every rank: the chiefs in the Lukiko had recognized the need to mold new religions into the nation, but had not found a workable method. Finally, the resolution of the civil war, from this point of view, was not the arrival of powerful British administrators who took sides and took control, but the creative, innovative actions of Baganda chiefs, who re-conceptualized the nation as a balance of Catholic and Protestant power, and expressed that new vision in drumbeats, symbolic space in the capital, and in the allocation of chiefships and land.

CHAPTER FOUR
AT THE TIME OF THE MILES: MAILO ALLOCATION

Miles came to Buganda in 1900, when the boundaries of vast tracts of individually owned land were measured out in square miles on top of the webs of overlapping allegiances that divided up the ridges and hills of the country. No inherent, compelling logic motivated the innovation of a new form of land tenure; as we have seen, Ganda chiefs had successfully used the language of land allocation to demonstrate their assumption of authority that had been the kabaka 's, and to reimpose stability after the civil wars. Private property in land was in a way a misunderstanding--one consequence of an agreement between Ganda and British negotiators which could not go according to plan, because the Ganda oligarchy planned to use land and their alliance with the British to consolidate their hold on power, and the British envoy planned to rationalize the alienation of land in order to attract settlers and make the colony pay. Most turn of the century treaties between African rulers and potential colonial powers involved a high degree of mutual misunderstanding: the Buganda Agreement of 1900 was perhaps unique in that both parties invested considerable resources and effort in its implementation, because both anticipated they would benefit. It is ironic that none of their expectations were met. The Ganda chose their land first, and the British crown land turned out to be mostly rocky hill tops and useless swamps. Gaining title did not give Ganda chiefs the lock on power they

anticipated, because the social relationships which the Ganda defined through exchanges on the land were fundamentally transformed by colonial overrule and a cash economy. Mailo, the form of land tenure that developed from the land clauses of the agreement, embodied the contradictory intentions and assumptions about land of its creators.

One of the enduring myths of mailo land is that the regents who negotiated the 1900 Agreement were land-grabbers, who offered Buganda to the British in order to secure the largest possible amounts of land for themselves. The huge estates amassed by Apolo Kaggwa (the Prime Minister), Stanislaus Mugwanya (the Chief Justice), and a few others give weight to this point of view, as does the most available documentary evidence, which dates from the 1920s. The nasty, imperious, self-justifying manner in which Kaggwa rebuffed clan elders who had lost all their clan lands and were unable to bury their relatives, and the proof that Kaggwa had allotted miles to all of his sons, including one who was unborn at the time, makes it easy to support the view that mailo did not work from the beginning because the big men were selfish. What actually happened in 1900 is more complicated and more interesting.

The creation of mailo land is a story of intense intellectual and social creativity; of meaningful things that stay the same in a new context, of things that have to stretch and change, and of fundamentally important things that become no longer possible. In allocating mailo land, the ruling Ganda chiefs carried out a complex and extensive act of cultural translation. They inscribed the new order of power in Buganda, with themselves at the top, into the spaces of square miles on the land, and they created ways for ideas that were important in Buganda--such as the importance of remembered places relevant to

deceased kings--to continue to have meaning in a landscape of private land ownership. The Baganda who received land and those who did not at first understood private land ownership as a slight variation on familiar terms and patterns; the forms of marking control over land, of attaching a person to land and a chief, and of being sent away from land, were all applied to mailo land. One disjuncture between mailo and Ganda land use in the past was immediately obvious: what happened to the authority of ancestors buried in land to claim it for their descendants and influence the living if land could be owned by people who were not descendants of the ancestors buried there? The elimination of the authority of dead ancestors over people on the land was emblematic of the ways that private land ownership narrowed and flattened the social relationships that land in Buganda had always represented.

The Ganda chiefs who became landowners attempted to use their new property in the ways that land had been used in Buganda in the past: to define relationships, create sustenance, and achieve security and status. Achieving these familiar goals became more difficult because the 1900 Agreement contained challenges to the Ganda order of things. British "Protectorate" authorities competed with Ganda authorities. At the same time, the chiefs' roles as intermediaries in the calling out of labor and the collection of tax and their inability to protect people from fines and harsh treatment undermined the logic of kusenga. The authority of chiefs-turned-landowners was also threatened by the introduction of a new vocabulary of status in European commodities and behaviors, and by the possibility that followers could abandon chiefs and maintain themselves through wages or production of cotton for cash.

Mailo Allocation and Authority in Buganda in 1900

Abstract allotments matching political status with an amount of land were the beginning of private land ownership in Buganda. Following the Buganda Agreement, three hundred and fifty square miles were reserved for the Kabaka, one hundred and fifty for the Queen Mother, the Princes, and Princesses, each of the three regents was to receive 32 square miles, and each chief of a province was to receive 16. Mbogo, an uncle of the Kabaka's who had been a potential contender for the throne, got 24 miles for himself and his fellow Moslems.[1] The lower chiefs were to divide the remaining 8,000 square miles which the negotiators of the Agreement determined would be the Ganda share of the nation. In order to implement this miniature scramble for African land, the regents and senior chiefs drew up a list of several thousand chiefs whose status entitled them to become land owners, and the number of square miles that each one deserved. The most important of these chiefs chose their miles first, and the less important had to find pieces of land for themselves after the senior chiefs had chosen.

Although granting mailo land title was a new form of land allocation, the Ganda principle that land was allocated from the center of power remained in effect. The shift in power, evident during the civil war, from the clans and King to the ruling chiefs, was intensified.[2] The regents and the chiefs in the Lukiko, and not the Kabaka, made the land allocation decisions. Authority to allocate land flowed down, as it had in the past, from

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[1] Laws of Uganda 1951, Vol VI, Government Printer, Entebbe, 20-4.

[2] Entebbe Secretariat Archives of the Uganda Protectorate, Secretariat Minute Paper, No. 6902, Transcript of the Butaka Land Commission, 530, Mugwanya. Cited hereafter as Commission, with page and name of speaker.

higher chiefs to lower chiefs: those who wanted land brought a paper from their Saza Chief to the Lukiko stating that he deserved to be allotted miles.[3] Relative status of the claimants was the criterion by which decisions were made: the regents and Prince Mbogo won disputes about land whenever anyone attempted to challenge their claims.[4]

The members of the Lukiko were following a well understood set of rules. They expected their authority regarding land to be absolute, and successfully challenged encroachments on that authority. In July, 1905, a Saza chief, the Kaima, tried to implement orders from Mr. Martin, the Buganda District Officer, regarding the preservation of forest land. The Lukiko secretary noted, "The Lukiko was very displeased over the Kaima's behaviour, because he had only paid attention to the European's orders without caring for what the Lukiko said." They countermanded the Kaima's decision, and made sure their interpretation of mailo procedures prevailed.[5] The Lukiko refused to involve itself in land questions involving a kibanja (the plot assigned by the chief or owner to a follower), even though it was wanted for the worthy purpose of building a school. "Then we of the Lukiiko told them that we had no power over a kibanja which had an occupant....Go and come to an understanding with Tela Sebugulu, the kibanja owner, whereby you give him another kibanja while he sells this one to you."[6]

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[3]Commission 514, Kaggwa.

[4] Commission 440-1, Kyadondo. Lukiko of Buganda, Records translated into English by the East Africa Institute of Social Research, seen by courtesy of Dr. John Rowe, 24, July 10, 1905. Cited hereafter as Lukiko, with page and date.

[5] Lukiko 27, July 14, 1905.

[6] Lukiko 78, 4 April 1907.

The ruling chiefs gave themselves more land than chiefs had controlled in the past because they had more power than chiefs had ever had in the past; it made sense.[7] The creation of new chiefly offices meant other important chiefs had to lose land so that the greater importance of the new chieftainships would be evident. For example, Seperiya Kisingiri moved up from being Kangawo, one of the most important Saza chiefs, to become the Omuwanika, a new position created in the aftermath of the civil wars, "and he had therefore to look for another place where to make his headquarters of his new Chieftainship, to which he had now been appointed i.e. that of Treasurer; and he had also to look for some other estates in which he would mark out his private miles....So Kisingiri selected Bombo where he made his private headquarters, and Chief Kibale was the Lukiko's representative who handed over these estates to Kisingiri. Again Kisingiri went down to Luwalo and made his official headquarters there, where he had to turn out Chief Musitala from the estate in question."[8]

The sense that the mailo allocation inscribed the new hierarchy onto the land is evident in the testimony of a clan leader a quarter of a century later, at the Commission of Enquiry regarding Butaka land. Abuta Lusekera, a Mutaka of the Ng'onge clan on Buganga in Mawokota saza, had gone to cut poles to build a church, when he was met on the road by a man who had come to tell him that he had been turned out of his estate. "I left the poles on the road and went straight to the capital and went and asked Mugwanya whether it was really true that he had turned me out of my estate, and he replied that it

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[7] Commission 511, Kaggwa.

[8] Commission 516, Mugwanya.

was true."[9] Lusekera was told that he had been allotted 8 miles of land, but he would have to find them some other place, because Mugwanya had taken his land. He got a certificate for two miles of land, went to the Katikiro (Prime Minister) to complain, went back to Mugwanya and begged, and ended up with nothing but the land around his fathers' graves. The 47 estates he lost were part of the valuable fishing area that twenty years earlier had been claimed by the Catholics, and before that, various ebitongole had been created there.[10] Responding to this accusation, Mugwanya was unrepentant. If he had taken the best estates in Mawokota, it was because his new position--that had never existed before--required the best estates. He said the Lukiko had sent representatives to take away the land of Lusekera and his fellow clan leaders because "the question of miles in Buganda is a very important one."[11] He explained that they had to alter the original distribution of 1893 because a physical place, in the form of estates, had to be created for the new position of Second Katikiro. "As I had been appointed the Second Katikiro I was given more miles than the other saza chiefs, which miles I marked out on my old estates as well as on the other estates which were given to me by the Lukiko, and which had been pointed out to me by the Lukiko Representatives."[12] This involved batongole moving to other places, and "even the saza chief Matayo Kisule had to evacuate his own estate which I took up."

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[9] Commission 404-5, Lusekera.

[10] Commission 400-1, 406, Lusekera.

[11] Commission 28, Mugwanya.

[12] Commission 529, Mugwanya.

His old chiefship of Kimbugwe had involved a certain amount of status, but his new position required more, so he had to take other peoples' land.

Ganda Meanings for Land Applied to Mailo

The procedure for becoming the owner of a mailo estate combined Ganda forms of allocating land with European ones. The person who received a piece of land was given "a typewritten slip of paper on which was written the estate."[13] These papers had great import; a request by the Mugerere in 1905 to exchange miles with someone else, because that man's "was more appropriate for a chief," was turned down "because these places were already shared out and type-written copies of the certificates are already complete in which names of the places appear."[14] Once the typewritten paper was produced, the recipient went to the saza chief of the saza where his estate was located, and the saza chief designated a representative to hand the estate over to him.[15] Alternatively, a representative of the Lukiko was sent to resolve land allocation disputes; these representatives had to be properly introduced to the saza chief by the Lukiko. The representative who had shown the land was always mentioned any time that the recipient of the land or the person who had been driven off of it referred to the transaction.[16] For several years, mailo allocation had the same kind of flexibility that Ganda were familiar

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[13] Commission 413, Kasolobugundu.

[14] Lukiko 49, 24 July 1905.

[15] Commission 493, Mukasa.

[16] Lukiko 21, 26 June 1905.

with in land transactions: people traded estates without any reference to written documents, went to the people who had the land they wanted in order to get it back, and tried to convince the Lukiko to give them a better allocation.[17]

When a new land owner "took up" a mailo estate, the person who had been the controller of that area left, taking his followers with him to the new land that he had been assigned.[18] Alternatively, the person on top might be the only one to leave, and the incoming land owner would assume control of the people on the land. In this situation, there was a clearly understood code of conduct for how the new lord would treat his people, and failure to comply would lead to complaints against him.[19] Bishop Tucker, a keen observer and defender of Ganda rights to private land in his interaction with the Protectorate officials, later wrote about the transition to mailo for British public consumption, "The man in occupation had to be turned out, and he in his turn sought his portion of land...the occupant of these had to be turned out, and so on. Thus the game of "general post" went on merrily until the whole population was in movement. Streams of men, women and children going east with all their household goods, cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls, met similar streams going west."[20] In Buganda people had always moved, searching for a more amenable chief or location, or following bakungu and batongole

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[17] Commission 338, Mude; 364, Batanude; Lukiko 49, 24 July, 1905.

[18] Commission 517, Mugwanya.

[19] Lukiko 27, July 10, 1905.

[20] Alfred R. Tucker, Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa, Vol. II. (London, Edward Arnold, 1908), 260-1.

chiefs to their new posts. One of the few people who was not a chief who spoke before the 1924 Butaka commission explained, "the bakopi were very anxious to become wealthy so they went and became private tenants of the wealthy and generous chiefs"; bakopi did not have graves that were remembered, because they died on the land of their chiefs, and their descendants expected that at some time they would move to another place.[21] The ordinariness of this movement is apparent in Mugwanya's description of evicting Jemusi Miti from Mawokota in 1892: "When I was distributing these estates I came upon this witness's butaka estate, but I found that he had already packed up all his things and was only waiting to greet me before leaving since he was a friend of mine."[22]

One reason that chiefs were willing to be turned out of their land was that people did not realize, in the first years after the imposition of mailo, that the allocation would be permanent. Mikairi Kidza, one of the leaders of the Bataka in 1924, used the Ganda proverb, "when an acquaintance robs you, you do not at once throw away the pad on which you have been carrying your load which has been robbed" to explain that those who lost land to more important chiefs assumed it would come back to them.[23] The Bataka also reminded the Commission "Omutaka nyenje tefa muka," "The mutaka is a cockroach which does not die in the smoke."[24] In the past, if one kabaka had taken away land from a chief or a clan, another kabaka returned them to favor.

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[21] Ndawula interview; Commission 540, Serugabi.

[22] Commission 502, Mugwanya.

[23] Commission 520, Kidza.

[24] Commission 352, Basudde.

In choosing their mailo, people sought estates that were on fertile land, which would attract lots of followers, whose presence would give the land owner prestige. Estates near the lake, where people could fish as well as grow bananas and other crops, were the most sought after. People who were allocated land that was not so fertile complained bitterly, because no one would live on their land. Writing to Apolo Kaggwa, the Prime Minister, in 1905, Isake Kajane, 'a man of Kaima,' asks for different miles because the seven he has gotten are in a place where matoke does not grow, and no people will go there.[25] Other people complained of getting land "in the desert," "in a district full of elephants," or a place where leopards ate the goats. Wild places with many animals did not have enough people; there was no point to owning such land.[26] Ronnie Sessane, one of the officers of the Lukiko revived in 1994, recalled a story told about his great-grandfather. The elder Sessane had tried to select his miles in Kyadondo in the place of his clan, but found that land had been taken by a bigger chief, tried another place, found that land taken also, tried again, and eventually decided to give up on mailo. A missionary friend told him to take land that had no people, because in the future it would have value, and that is how the Sessane family came to own their large estates.[27]

The principle that an important chief's land had to have people on it had been established and reiterated by the District Commissioner before the Lukiko met in the spring of 1905, when the Kago, one of the saza chiefs, told the Lukiko he wanted better

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[25] Kaggwa papers CA 17, Box 1.

[26] Commission 408, Senfuma; Kaggwa Papers Box 1 CA 15, Yakobo Mbugaereamura.

[27] Sessane interview.

land. "I have only 10 square mailo in my saza, six mailos are situated in Bulumezi. When we heard "Bwana's" advice that if a person got land in a place where there are no people, if he found unclaimed land he could exchange his land. I am also in the same situation."[28]

People on the land were the critical elements in two land disputes heard in the Lukiko in 1905. Samusoni of Bulemezi and another man, Daudi Kaitakusa, had been sent off their land when another man marked out his miles in the place where they lived. Samusoni thought the man had taken more than the four miles to which he was entitled, and was willing to put up 10 shillings to have the land surveyed. When it was discovered that the man had actually taken more than four miles, the extra miles were given to Samusoni and Daudi, but when Daudi returned from being away in Bunyoro, he had been given the whole land, even though he had a mile somewhere else. When Samusoni complained, the property was divided into two parts according to how many followers each one would control: Samusoni was assigned 13 kibanja, (13 families of tenants) and Daudi got 7 kibanja. Samusoni got more because he had paid for the survey. In Senga, a man named Musajawaza had been given the butaka (land with ancestral graves) of Bude as his mailo, so Bude wanted to trade. The Lukiko determined that in order to get his land back from Musajawaza, he should compensate him with 6 gardens, that is, the place for six families of followers.[29]

The immigration of Banyoro onto land beside the lake caused a conflict between Enoka Mutalabwa and Yonasani Waswa, who had been given either the same land, or

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[28] Lukiko 5, 22 May 1905.

[29] Lukiko 55, August 28, 1905.

adjoining lands, by chief Kimbugwe in Bulemezi. Mutalabwa had received it first, but he left only one man there, and the Kimbugwe later gave land in almost the same area to Waswa, who immediately began to build. He also put one of his men there. When 30 Banyoro had settled by the lake, both Mutalabwa and Waswa wanted the place with the people to be theirs. Mugwanya, the chief judge of the Lukiko, told Mutalabwa that Waswa deserved it because Mutalabwa had not built a house on the land, and "anyone who occupies empty land is not a thief." Mutalabwa objected that the land was his if it had been assigned to him, whether or not he had done anything with it.[30] The Lukiko tried to judge the case on the basis of documents, but neither man had any papers at all, so the Lukiko "gave the whole place to Yona Waswa who had done building on the land."[31]

The calculus of kusenga, the relationship of a land-allocator and land-receiver, was clearly motivating people who obtained mailo land. Even as people were positioning themselves to use mailo for the most successful kusenga relationships, alternative sources of status and alternative sources of security posed an even stronger threat to kusenga than they had in the civil war years. (see section 4.5 below)

Mailo, Ancestors' Bones, and the Translation of Culture

The mapping of the Ganda hierarchy of chiefs onto estates of appropriate sizes was an assertion of Ganda ideas about the meaning of land which coexisted relatively smoothly with the forms of private property. Ganda uses of land that connected the living and dead

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[30] Lukiko 15-16, 12 June 1905.

[31] Ibid.

were not so easy to reshape, and Ganda chiefs worked to maintain the important meanings of land in a new form. The most important problem was Busirro--literally, the place of shrines, where all the former kabakas were buried, and from which they expressed their concerns about the nation through mediums who embodied their spirits, and where their continued importance to the nation was demonstrated by followers who inherited the roles of each deceased kabaka's wives and ministers. The capital of the country always faced Busirro, and the reigning kabaka visited his fathers' shrines every month at the new moon.[32]

The first decision of the Lukiko was that title to the land with the Shrines would be in the names of the kabakas.

> It was in this way: every dead Kabaka had his katikiro as well as his other chiefs at the place of his burial. Our intention was therefore that each dead Kabaka should be allotted one square mile which should be marked out in his name. This would have been in conformity with the old native custom for the deceased Kabaka to possess estates and their chiefs.[33]

If the deceased kabakas had owned the land, the people living on it, maintaining the graves and sustaining themselves from the banana gardens planted around, would have been the followers of the kabakas, and it was appropriate for deceased kings to continue to have followers. However, the British Government told the Lukiko that "this proposal was impossible since a dead person cannot possess property."[34] The solution that made perfect sense in Ganda terms--the place where dead kings are buried and remembered belongs to

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[32]Roscoe, 283.

[33] Commission 517, Kaggwa.

[34] Commission 517, Kaggwa.

the dead kings--was impossible in British terms, because only living people could own land.

The eventual solution devised by the chiefs was an innovation which partially protected the Kings from the disgrace of having the land of their graves owned by someone else, but it contained dilemmas of its own. The Katikiro called the head of the Princes, Mbogo, and the head of the Princesses, Nalinya, and others to discuss how to solve the problem of Busirro.

> We put the matter which we had brought from the Commissioner before them, and we asked them to consider it carefully...they decided to give up their original Mituba estates in the various counties, and each prince agreed to return to Busiro to the place of his ancestors. A prince marked out one square mile and a princess one square mile on the place of the graves of their ancestors.[35]

The neatness of this solution--"when the Lukiko gave the princes and princesses land containing the graves of their grandfather they were giving them their own butaka land of their ancestors"--was not wholly satisfactory, not only because the kabakas were no longer independent, but also because in Buganda princesses and princes had always been kept far from the king.[36] Princesses held large amounts of land and administered it using a hierarchy of chiefs that paralleled that of the kabaka; kabakas kept princes far from themselves, confined under the close guard of a relative of the kabaka's mother, if they were allowed to live.[37] "We the Princes are not entitled to settle in Busiro where they had

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[35] Commission 518, Kaggwa.

[36] Commission 466, Kaggwa, Walusimbi.

[37] Roscoe, 237, 190.

now taken us for from time immemorial Busiro has always been owned by the Kabaka alone."[38] Kabakas had a natural antipathy to princes, the people who might want to usurp the throne; it did not make sense to have princes take the land that made them caretakers of the kabakas.

Another problem that the regents and Lukiko had to solve in allocating mailo was what to do about land that had intrinsic value in the history of Buganda. One such land was Mangira, which was remembered as the first capital of Kabaka Kintu, the first king. The head of the Leopard Clan, which had always lived there and carried on the work of remembering the importance of the place, wanted to have title to the land, but the regents had given it to the Kabaka. "This estate was Kabaka Kintu's capital, and that is why it was marked out with the Kabaka's miles." A place which was said to be the burial place of Kintu was also assigned to the Kabaka.[39] Since all land had belonged to the kabaka in the past, assigning a specific land to the kabaka was a strategy for preserving the meanings that adhered to it. People assumed that social relationships on land that belonged to the kabaka would not be disrupted in the way that a change of owners would affect relationships on mailo land.

The intractable, insoluble problem of mailo land was the conflict between the rights of a land owner and the undisputed rights of deceased clan leaders over the land on which they were buried. Living descendants of clan and lineage leaders were obliged to maintain butaka, the banana gardens which held the graves of important remembered ancestors. As

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[38] Commission 419, Kaliro.

[39] Commission 416, Kaggwa.

we have seen in Chapter Two, the actions critical to social reproduction took place in butaka. These included ceremonies securing the health of children, marking the passing of generations, and defining the descent groups of people responsible for taking care of each other. Butaka were in every part of the nation, although the most important ones were concentrated in the central, oldest sazas. Although people told Lucy Mair that ceremonies related to childhood were held less commonly than before in the late 1920s, butaka continued to be essential for identifying lineages and defining lineage relationships.[40] The authority of ancestors in relation to their descendants reached across time and across space, but the places where they were buried were unquestionably theirs.

One way to remove the authority of dead ancestors might have been to remove their bones from the land. Kabakas exhumed any bodies on land they intended to use as their capital, and Bakungu chiefs forced the removal of graves when they feared that people might be using the graves to establish rights to stay on that land.[41] Apolo Kaggwa outraged his clan members and the Lukiko by removing butaka graves from land that he received as mailo. The bodies he removed were recognized to be his own clan, although a different branch.[42] A clan elder admonished him, "In digging up those bones you also dug up your grandparents."[43] He justified his actions to the saza chief by saying that unburying

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[40]Mair, 54.

[41]Kaggwa, Basekabaka, 5/88; "Enquiry into Native Land Tenure," 3.

[42] Archives of the Protectorate of Uganda, Secretariat Minute Paper 6902, dated 6.2.06.

[43] Makerere University Library, Africana Collection, Kaggwa papers, Box 1 CA54 4.10.1906, Sebantindira to Kaggwa.

bodies was not an abomination, because kabakas had done it in the past.[44] In the Lukiko, perhaps for the benefit of the Buganda District Officer Tomkins, he said he did not want to rebury the bodies because it would prevent him from selling the land to white traders. The entire Lukiko and Tomkins got tremendously angry with him, and forced the reburial of the bodies on the butaka land. Masembe, a Mutaka of the Nsenene clan, wrote that in unburying the bodies Kaggwa had "yamala kunyooma kika" --'expressed the uttermost contempt for the clan'--and that he had done it because he thought there was no one who could challenge him on this or anything else.[45] People referred to the incident twenty years later. Kaggwa had attempted to extend his rights as a land owner into control of the bones in the butaka: the response from his peers demonstrated that a land owner's authority did not extend to the graves on butaka on his land.

Although it eventually proved impossible, the Ganda chiefs attempted to reconcile private land ownership in square miles with clans and the sub-branches of clans maintaining control of hundreds of banana gardens that contained significant graves. Mailo land was to be given to people who were chiefs, and the most senior bataka were all allotted a number of miles, often six or eight, because they were the heads of the clans. Lower level bataka, those who were the heads of the secondary or tertiary levels of clans, were not all considered chiefs. The Lukiko attempted to find someone who belonged to the appropriate clan branch, who was on the mailo allotment list, and to assign the butaka to that member of the clan. This effort did not satisfy the Bataka who had lost control of

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[44] Kaggwa Papers, Box 1, CA25 Kaggwa to Kangao 29.1.1906.

[45] Uganda Protectorate Archives, SMP 6902, dated 6.2.06.

the butaka, because the people who got mailo for Butaka land were often not members of the line of descent who were supposed to be in charge of the butaka.[46] The Lukiko members argued that they had preserved butaka by allocating it to a member of the correct clan; the bataka maintained that only the correct descendant could control the land.[47]

The Lukiko also made efforts to return butaka when it had been allocated to the wrong person, and defended the right of clans to hold on to butaka when chiefs asked for it. Blasito Kiwanuka described how the Nvubu clan had lost a Kasolya butaka in Mbazi. When the leaders of the clan realized that their butaka had been allotted to someone else, they called a meeting, and then visited the Prime Minister together to ask for the return of their butaka. "He told them that if that was our actual Kasolya butaka land he would give us one square mile, and the Katikiro asked them to give him a member of our clan to whom he would give this square mile which should be taken to the head Mutaka of our clan."[48] In 1905, the saza chief Sekibobo asked for one of the miles belonging to Misusera Kibude, because some of Sekibobo's own mailos were empty, and "it is not very becoming of a Sekibobo to have mailo without inhabitants." The Lukiko refused to allow him to have the land, however. "That land was given to Mesusera Kibude. It is his butaka on which there are his graves, we cannot take away that land from Kibude."[49] Negotiations

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[46]Commission 347, Musajakawa.

[47] Commission 456, Kiwanuka; 396, Ndugwa.

[48] Commission 453, Kiwanuka.

[49] Lukiko 22, 26 June, 1905.

to preserve some kind of clan control of butaka are a recurrent theme in the early records of the Lukiko.

The attempts that the Lukiko made to preserve clan control of butaka were considered by the 1920s to have been unsuccessful. One reason for this is the degree to which lost butaka had come to symbolize every possible social ill (see Chapter Six); another reason is that loss of butaka became the one legitimate complaint one could make against a mailo holder, and people who had other legitimate claims to land began to express those claims in terms of butaka. Looking past the highly charged discourse of the 1920s, however, it is possible to discern that the allocation of butaka land to people who were not the appropriate descendants caused real distress. People were prevented from burying clan elders on the appropriate butaka and had to bury "in the jungle."[50] Others described being unable to hold the olumbe, the post-funeral rites that marked succession, "and up to the present day the funeral rites in connection with the burial of this Mutaka have not yet been performed, as his children have no place where they can gather together and perform them, since they have now become just like slaves and outcasts."[51] Some clan elders, who had been allotted a number of miles, refused to take their miles and instead became tenants in order to remain on the land with the graves for which they were responsible.[52] People also immediately began to buy the land that held their butaka.[53]

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[50]Commission 448, Lugwisa; 358, Zirimenya.

[51] Commission 486-7, Seryenvu; 425, Kaikuzi.

[52] Commission 423-4, Lusekera.

[53] Commission 503, Miti.

The implications of privately owned land, that all the rights and powers related to that land are held by the owner, were fundamentally incompatible with butaka, which affirmed the authority of dead ancestors over living people, especially the people on the land around their graves. White marker stones kept disappearing from the surveyed land in Bussi; people explained that misambwa, the territorial nature spirits associated with those who had first occupied the land, were taking them because they refused to allow their land to be surveyed.[54] While some mailo owners allowed bataka to continue to live on their land in order to accommodate the challenge to their authority posed by ancestors buried in the ground, others responded to that challenge by driving off all the bataka.[55] Chiefs were clearly less comfortable with the alternative authority of butaka than the kabaka had been: the possibilities for bataka to exercise authority over clan lands diminished dramatically when a coterie of chiefs with foreign allies took the place of the utterly powerful kabaka. A specific example of this is the Nvubu clan butaka on Mengo hill. Blasito Kiwanuka explained that the Nvubu clan had controlled Mengo hill when Kabaka Mutesa moved his capital there in the middle of the 19th century. The Kabaka took the part of the hill where the palace was then built, but left the clan's butaka intact. When Apolo Kaggwa took the land as his mailo in 1900, however, he drove the clan off of the land entirely.[56] After describing how Kaggwa had been willing to give some of the land to others but not to the

[54] Welbourn, "Some Aspects," 175.

[55] Commission 539, Bakunga.

[56] Commission, 454-5, Kiwanuka.

clan elders who deserved it, Kiwanuka observed "kisala munyazi"-- 'a stolen thing is missed most by the thief --when it is stolen again from him.[67]

Mailo Allocation and the Locations of Power in Buganda

Mailo land narrowed the locations of power in Ganda society. This subtle but profound transition was in part inherent in tenure change -Ganda ways of using land facilitated the maintenance of many layers of relationships of superiors and followers in the same small geographic area, while mailo supported the authority of only one owner. This difference in the uses of land, however, reflected an important characteristic of the sets of tools for creating social order which were available to the Ganda and to their British colonial contemporaries. In Buganda, the centralizing control exerted by the absolute life and death power of the kabaka coexisted with a tendency to avoid conflict by creating multiple avenues of power. The layering effect of this strategy was inscribed on the landscape, as we have seen in Chapter Two. Clans, lubaale spirits, royal women, the chiefs of ebitongole dedicated to specific purposes and the chiefs appointed to administer areas might all exercise claims to the labor and produce of people in the same, or nearly the same area.[58] For example, answering the question, "To whom did the estate Namutamba belong?" Aligizande Mude explained, "Some of the estates at Namutamba were occupied by the kabaka's cooks, and others were in possession of princes and princesses, and others

[57] Ibid.

[58] Roscoe and Kaggwa, Enquiry, 3.

belonged to the Bataka. There was also Ekitongole called "Ekikuta" at Lwogelo."[59] In contrast, the tendency of British colonials in Buganda was to consolidate power in one location, and to check alternatives with force. When the range of social relationships expressed through the medium of land declined dramatically with the creation of mailo, this was only partly a consequence of the characteristics of private property in land. It was also a manifestation of the colonial process of dismissing multiple sources of power, and the inability of Ganda leaders to effectively maintain alternatives.

The contrast between the Ganda inclination to diffuse power and the British inclination to consolidate it is evident in some of the early entries in the written records of the Lukiko. Three men were fighting over the minor office of Bulala Mutuba. The Lukiko gave it to one of them, created another office for one of them, and told the third to remain in the position he had.[60] Two years later, the position of head of the Clan of the Princes was challenged by Mbogo, the Prince who had been a contender for the throne and would certainly have been executed by the reigning kabaka in an earlier era. Mbogo asked, "who will be the head of our clan between me and I. Ssabalangira?" The Lukiko resolved "to let I. Ssabalangira continue to be the head of the members of the blood royal, while Mbogo should be the judge to hear all disputes between the princes."[61] In 1909, the Provincial Commissioner for Buganda had requested a list of chiefs that had been approved to collect taxes. The Lukiiko sent a list of all the chiefs, and of all their assistants. The PC sent this

[59] Commission 337, Muda.

[60] Lukiko 58, 4 September, 1905.

[61] Lukiko 66, April 23, 1906.

list back, saying, he did not want to know the names of the assistants, that all the names of the assistants should be removed and the list should be returned with only the names of chiefs.[62]

Lands controlled by lubaale spirits through their bandwa, mediums, were entirely eliminated in the mailo allocation, completing a process that had begun during the civil wars. Mediums had been one of the main sources of criticism of the kabakas and restraints on the kabaka's power (Chapter 2); the loss of their place and their voice diminished the possibility for disagreement with the central authority of the state. Apolo Kaggwa almost acknowledged the lubaale's role in curbing the power of the kabaka in his explanation that Lubaale land had been eliminated because it was a "bad custom" instead of a "good custom":

> ...most of the Bataka were of "Lubale" and the Kabaka used to turn out these bataka completely...The good native customs were followed; that is those good customs of the bataka which are calculated to keep up the dignity of the Kabaka were observed, such as that of Mulumba - the Kabaka's Chief Gatekeeper, the Musolosa - the Keeper of the Kabaka's fire; the Nakatanza and Kibale who guard the Kabaka, and others of a like nature.[63]

Spirit mediums continued to exist in Buganda, but they lost authority when they lost their lands and their followers.

While the Namasole and other royal women were given amounts of land that approximated their control of land in earlier times, their particular place of being outside normal categories no longer had validity. The Namasole and the Princesses had been

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[62] Lukiko 109, 12 July, 1909.

[63] Commission 513, Kaggwa.

people who did things other people did not do: they were women who did not get pregnant, who had lovers instead of husbands, who ruled like men, and who had power separate from the kabaka. Namasoles had exerted a direct influence on kabakas; princesses were critical to successful rebellions. (Chapter 2) Their political role of providing a counterbalance to the power of the kabaka lost meaning when the kabaka lost power in the civil wars. The hierarchy of administrative chiefs established by the regents and the British chiefs ignored royal women. After 1900, royal women had large amounts of land, but they could not do with it what they had done in the past. Legal battles that lasted for decades were the result of the continued existence of the forms of royal women's authority, even though they no longer had power.[64] What royal women did continue to do was to behave beyond the bounds of other people's rules, "these princesses are also very cheeky. When they come visiting they stay a whole month or a full week all the time drinking beer and without any thought of returning to their homes."[65] One origin of a land market in Buganda was royal women selling land to support their dissolute lifestyles, which was all that remained of their role as the focus of political dissent.

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[64] Lukiko 131-2, 10 October 1914; Kingdom of Buganda Customary Law Reports 1940-1955: Being a Digest of Decisions on Customary Law made by the Principal Court of His Highness the Kabaka of Buganda during the years 1941-1951. Compiled by E.S. Haydon, B.A. and I.S. Lule, Senior Judge E. A. Printers, (Boyd) Ltd. Nairobi, 115-118.

[65] Lukiko 74 January 24, 1907; AR Fieldnotes, Fallers Papers, University of Chicago Library.

Ebitongole, the lands that had been designated for a particular activity, lost that named purposefulness in the allocation of mailo.[66] People continued to carry out the activity for which the ekitongole had been named--the kabaka's mweso board makers continued to carve, and the kabaka's cooks prepared food, but the statement of the importance of their activity inherent in the ekitongole was no longer present. The mweso board carvers stayed in the same location, but it was designated kabaka's land. When Mugema chose the ekitongole of the cooks as part of his mailo, the Kauta, the chief of the cooks, took land in a different place as a chief entitled to mailo, while the cooks themselves moved to a different place.[67] The ekitongole of the bark cloth makers was marked out as kabaka's land; the bark cloth makers stayed there, but ceased to be the men of their chief, the Kasumba.[68] The disaggregation of people and their work, from the person who was named the leader in charge of their work, and from the place which was dedicated to the importance of their work represents a loss of ability to deploy symbolic capital. People who lived on the kabaka's land and carved mweso boards and furniture were less, in a subtle way, than what they had been before--the people of the Ekitongole of Mweso.

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[66] I am reading against the tendency of 1924 witnesses and later commentators to describe Ekitongole as compensation for work performed; I think that interpretation imposes a logic of commodified exchange that did not exist in Buganda in the nineteenth century when ekitongole became prevalent.

[67] Commission 521, Kaggwa.

[68] Commission 505, Mugwanya.

The use of land for remembering was also undermined by the allocation of mailo. People were not obliged to consider the ways that a particular land was used to remember past social relationships when they chose their miles. The regents tried to choose appropriate owners for land that held historical meaning for the whole nation; some of the land that was meaningful to clans remained under their control, but obwesengeze land, which had been given to commemorate a connection between the Kabaka and a particular individual, was almost entirely eliminated by mailo. An example of this was the estate Sai, which Kabaka Mutesa gave to Nsukusa, the man who cleaned his courtyard, whose descendants were known as Mulimyambuga "He who cleans the courtyard." The family had struggled to maintain the obwesengeze land over several decades--they lost it to the Katikiro but Kabaka Mwanga returned it, and its status during the Protestant/Catholic land divide was also disputed. Zakayo Nkuwe, the grandson of the original cleaner of the courtyard, continued to carry out that work, and tried to obtain the land as mailo. His claim was the kind that had little validity when the miles came, because it was based on marking a relationship to the kabaka. While service to the kabaka had meaning as a claim to land before miles, the role of cleaning the mbuga was not a chiefship, and the estate was taken by the Katikiro.[69] The security of widows deteriorated as remembering the past became a less important use for land: one of the main duties of widows was to maintain

[69] Commission 388-92, Nkuwe.

the graves of their husbands and remember them. In later years, judges noted with disgust the willingness of families to drive widows off the land.[70]

Challenges to the Social Logic of Kusenga

The allocations of land by the Lukiko ended the use of land for sustaining people who remembered important things, and the use of land for claiming the importance of specific activities, and for supporting diffuse forms of authority. Yet in the narrowed forms of the emerging colonial order, land continued to be a means of defining who was powerful, and a means of binding followers to leaders. Logically, kusenga tied tenants to landowners in the same way that it had tied men and women to their chiefs--the existence of land title did not affect the relationship. However, the implementation of other parts of the 1900 Agreement undermined the kusenga dynamic in ways that were not immediately apparent. The authority which the British assumed for themselves eventually undercut the power of people who controlled land. When chiefs collected taxes and called out the labor required by the British at Entebbe, they behaved in ways that were unchiefly, and their followers abandoned them in droves. As the social bonds of chiefs to their followers deteriorated under the stress of being required to do too much, alternatives emerged in the form of cash wages and commodities purchased with cash. The essence of relationships anchored on the land were that chiefs provided protection, followers provided status, and

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[70] Kingdom of Buganda Customary Law Reports 1940-1955: Being a Digest of Decisions on Customary Law made by the Principal Court of His Highness the Kabaka of Buganda during the years 1940-1955. Compiled by E.S. Haydon, B.A. and I.S. Lule, Senior Judge, Nairobi: E. A. Printers, (Boyd) Ltd., Civil Case No 38/46, 41-44.

clanspeople sustained each other: money began to be a means of acquiring status, protection, and sustenance. Tensions involving power, obligations, and money that originated in the initial years of the implementation of the 1900 Agreement grew in intensity in the following decade.

Claiming Authority

In 1900, the pinnacle of the Ganda hierarchy of power was, in theory, the child Kabaka Daudi Chwa, who in his youth still held the respect of the Baganda but was not exercising any authority. Real authority over other people flowed from the distant Balozi (Governor) and also from the assertively present regents, especially Apolo Kaggwa.[71] The chiefs accepted that the Governor had the power to dismiss chiefs arbitrarily. Kaggwa reported a meeting in 1905 in which Bwana (Tomkins, the District Commissioner) told three saza chiefs "I have dismissed you." The second chief, the Mugerere, asked why he was dismissed. Kaggwa reported, "Bwana said, "Don't you know that you are a drunkard? And don't you know that you are lazy? Do you do anything? And you even do not carry out the instructions of the Lukiiko and you simply sit in your house and drink beer."[72] The Lukiko went on to discuss Tomkin's complaints, and listen to the responses of chiefs who had been criticized, but did not challenge the dismissals themselves: abrupt dismissal of chiefs had been part of the kabaka's power, and it apparently made sense that the

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[71] A substantial, somewhat dated literature describes the Ganda as collaborators Kiwanuka, 239; (Low points out that the Ganda alliance with the British gave them "unprecedented political supremacy" within their kingdom, Modern History, 87-8. This perception underestimates the degree to which Ganda shaped the colonial interaction with their own goals and expectations.

[72] Lukiko 6-7, 29 April 1905.

Governor assumed it also. The chiefs also made the public displays of respect to British authorities which were an important part of political power in Buganda. When the Governor came to visit, he was received by Daudi Chwa. "Balozi was coming to see the Kabaka at 10:00 am. The regents went to wait for him at the Kabaka's house. When Balozi came they greeted him. Afterwards he saw the Kabaka and then went away."[73] In September, 1905, the Lukiko apologized for not properly respecting a visit of the Governor,"we, Lukiiko members, were very wrong for not sending chiefs in the county to meet Mr. Balozi. We understand our guilt, next time we shall send them to greet Balozi."[74] However, the governor did not have the kabaka's authority over the life of every person and could not act towards people as a kabaka had acted: partly because the Baganda did not grant him that authority, and partly because Protectorate modes of expressing authority were less direct. Ambiguity at the top was new for Buganda and the regents and chiefs innovated in creating their relationship with the Protectorate.

In the first years of the twentieth century, Baganda interacted with the British Protectorate officials on the basis of a calculation of equivalent ranks. The regents and the most powerful chiefs met with, dined with, and sometimes prayed with the Protectorate Officers for Buganda; saza chiefs were expected to take care of those officers when they toured. Non-official Europeans did not get the same treatment. An engineer who demanded food from a lower level chief was told that the chief "did not know what type of

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[73] Lukiko 21, 23 June 1905.

[74] Lukiko 59, October 2, 1905.

European he was--in any case he was not a Balozi."[75] Foreigners did not always have the same understanding of their status in relation to Baganda; the Prime Minister Apolo Kaggwa reported that a European had complained when Kaggwa did not greet him at the Kampala fort, but, Kaggwa explained to the District Commissioner Leakey and to the Lukiko, he had not greeted the man because he did not know him.[76]

Baganda slotted European strangers into Ganda notions of social hierarchy, and most foreigners conformed to some degree to the expectations made upon them as controllers of people and therefore pseudo-chiefs.[77] Even British protectorate officials initially interacted with Baganda chiefs in ways that emphasized their common position as rulers over others, and de-emphasized differences based on nationality, which later became paramount. A foot race from Entebbe to Kampala, held in 1908 to mark King Edward's birthday, hints at the contrast between power relations in those early years, and the forms and fault-lines of colonial authority later. The racers were the subordinates of Ganda chiefs and British officials--the list of winners gives their names, "their lords," and their sazas (unfortunately, the names and statuses of the foreign competitors were not listed because they were all losers). These runners "arrived here when it was still daylight before the celebrations were over. They beat all the foreigners none of whom dared come near us."[78] In 1908, foreigners could compete in races with Baganda in which it was certain they

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[75] Lukiko 13, 12 June 1905.

[76] Lukiko 85, 17 August 1907.

[77] Rowe, Lugard at Kampala.

[78] Lukiko 106, November 9, 1908.

would lose. The military and political indebtedness of the British to the Baganda to some degree accounts for British officials' respect of Baganda authority, but Ganda understandings of their own power also shaped the relationship.[79]

In the years immediately after the signing of the Buganda Agreement, Baganda chiefs expected the British to comply with Ganda standards of social relations, and intervened when they felt British officials were not treating Baganda in an acceptable way. In 1902, the regents complained to George Wilson, the Deputy Commissioner for Buganda, about the treatment of laborers in Entebbe. They told him that workers could not get food, that they were beaten, and that they had to work for too many hours, especially because they were not given a break in the middle of the day. Those who were left in the camp because they were too ill to work had no one to care for them and were not even given water. The regents believed that people had died on returning to their homes because of the bad treatment they received while laboring in Entebbe.[80] Their complaints led to an investigation and some apparently ineffective attempts at reform. In 1908 the Lukiko sent to a British official in Buganda two men who had been tied to a telegraph post and lashed by a "European engineer" when they stopped his labourers from taking food without permission. The Lukiko wrote "We too have seen the marks left on the two men's bodies as a result of the lashes. Some of the marks have of course

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[79] Wright on military, Low, Modern History, 88-9.

[80] Entebbe Secretariat Archives, A8/2, George Wilson to Commissioner, Entebbe, 22 August 1902, quoted in J. A. Atanda, "The Bakopi in the KIngdom of Buganda, 1900-1927: An Analysis of the Condition of the Peasant Class in Early Colonial Period," cyclostyled paper labeled "History Department, MSP/16, Northwestern University Africana Collection, 7.

disappeared, but the bruises can be clearly seen."[81] They expected the Commissioner for Buganda to see the bruises and punish the European who had obviously acted inappropriately.

The Lukiko initially maintained a clear sense of its obligations in relation to Europeans, and of the British Protectorate's responsibilities to the chiefs. In 1905, the Lukiko refused to pay workmen who had carried bricks to build the house of a European called Sitalaka. "The Lukiko told Luzinda to take the four men to Borup and tell Borup that the Lukiiko was not prepared to pay the men. The instructions to move the bricks had originated with Borup not with the Lukiiko and he was therefore responsible to see that the men were paid."[82] When Stanley Tomkins, the Provincial Commissioner, disbanded the saza police, the Lukiko replied "We shall write now letters to saza chiefs to bring all policemen here quickly when they will be discharged, and that they should come quickly here to our office. Allow us by your kindness to do so."[83] However, a short time later they asked Tomkins to transfer the salaries of the police to the saza chiefs, who were then doing the work that the police had done previously.[84] A careful examination of the Ganda chiefs' interaction with British Protectorate officials shows much more than compliance and collaboration. The chiefs made public displays of respect and submitted to overt

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[81]Lukiko 24.2.1909, 99.

[82]Lukiko, July 10, 1905, 27.

[83]Lukiko 63.

[84]Lukiko 79, 17 April 1907.

assertions of authority, but they also asked British officials to conform to Ganda notions of rank and to abide by Ganda notions of social obligation.

Cash and the Calculus of Kusenga

The real loss in Ganda power did not come from the existence of District and Provincial Officers, to whom the Lukiko spoke with a voice of courteous authority. Instead, cash wages, taxes in rupees and labour calls slowly began to undermine the economic and social logic of chiefly authority. Rupees were fundamentally strange in Buganda: a man named Sabakaki succeeded for a while in 1905 in selling small pieces of marble to people who needed the new currency; he had made 600 cowries at least by the time the market keeper arrested him.[85] Rupees were different from cowries in what they could do. Rupees linked the productive relationships of Baganda with British expectations of colonial productivity, but this unfamiliar money also had consequences inside of Ganda social forms. Cash became an alternative to loyal service in the calculus of power: with wages people could acquire things that had previously only been obtainable through kusenga. When the imposition of hut tax made rupees essential, everyone needed something that chiefs could not supply. Cash and labor demands did to people's relationships' with chiefs what long distance trade had done to chiefs' relationships' with the kabaka several decades earlier (see chapter 3): new possibilities challenged old allegiances.

[85]Lukiko 24, 3 July 1905.

Rupees and the things that could be bought with them at first fit awkwardly in Ganda patterns of exchange. The tendency of chiefs to mark their status with unusual possessions continued as Baganda with money distinguished themselves with watches, bicycles, and consumer items such as gramophones.[86] However, it is clear that people were adding new items into forms of exchange that continued to exist. At a celebration by the Protestant community for the Gayaza girls school, in 1907, girls received prizes including watches, Bibles, suit cases and "a beautiful box with a greenish tint." The chiefs at the celebration all presented cows and goats to the Kabaka, and goats to the Namasole; and Yosefu Kago, the host of the event, also gave a cow to the Katikiro and goats to the other two regents. The Kago cooked three cows, one goat, and 481 miwumbo (basket-sized amounts) of food for the guests. His carefully compiled list included, among other items, 28 bottles of soda, 130 gourds of juice, one tin of biscuits, one tin of sugar, and one bottle of curry powder. In celebrating their girls' school at Gayaza, and their strength as leaders of the nation, the Protestant chiefs used the language of exchange of cattle and food, and added into that familiar experience Bibles as awards for cleanliness and character, and bottles of soda.[87]

The beginning of a cusp of the dilemma posed by cash is apparent in Jemusi Miti's correspondence with the Lukiko in the summer of 1900. Miti was a rising Ganda chief, a servant, in theory, of the Kabaka. He had been instrumental in the British conquest of

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[86] Sir Frederick Treves, Bart. Uganda for a Holiday London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1910, 223; Kaggwa, Nsenene, 16.

[87] Lukiko 27, 25 March 1907.

Bunyoro, and was installed by George Wilson (Bwana Tayali, Mr. Ready) as the Prime Minister of Bunyoro. Miti was acting in the best interests of Buganda, which he was supposed to do as a chief, but he also needed to be maintained. The defeated Banyoro were not providing food. In the new forms of expressing power, Miti needed a salary, not the cattle and tribute of the conquered. Where would his salary come from? Wilson suggested that the British Government might be motivated to annex Bunyoro to Buganda if the Lukiko paid his salary. The Baganda wanted Miti in Bunyoro, and the Lukiko members acknowledged the appropriateness of a salary, but they wanted him to kusenga, to work for Buganda out of a sense of responsibility for the nation.

> "Our friend, merely concentrate in doing that task which you were set for our sake and for the sake of your mother country, without pay for these four months... If any good fruits shall come out of your present work we shall certainly remember your present sacrifices and you will be repaid in full. You shall be remembered...We beg you very much to do your duty with fortitude."[88]

That Miti stayed in Bunyoro, without the salary that ought to have indicated his status as a chief, demonstrates that the sense of obligation to one's superiors which the Lukiko evoked was still very real.

Cash wages created an alternative motivation for working, and the developing expectation that work ought to be compensated with wages deprived chiefs of an important symbol of the allegiance of their people. In November, 1905, the Lukiko discussed what work peasants were obliged to do for chiefs. Someone reported that the saza chief Mugerere was not allowing people to cultivate for chiefs unless they were paid.

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[88] Lukiko 69, letter dated 1 August 1900.

The Buganda District Officer redefined kusenga as a form of compensation, suggesting that peasants ought to weed the compounds of chiefs because that was were they went to have their disputes settled.[89] This functional reciprocity fell far short of the assertions of mutual bonds that had characterized exchanges between followers and chiefs in the past. The conflict is apparent in the saza chief Kiimba's explanation of his disagreement with the District Commissioner in 1905. Kiimba had chosen a man named Bikaye to accompany an unnamed British official, but Bikaye refused to walk with him without wages. Kiimba told him to go anyway, but Bikaye refused and instead went to the fort in Kampala, and complained that he was being asked to work with no wages. Then the chief Kiimba was called into the fort:

> "Mr. Munala called me and reprimanded me for ordering somebody to go when he had no wages. He told me to go and tell another person to go. I asked him (Mr. Munala) whether the other person I may select shall not refuse just as this one had done. I had chosen this person to go and I was not going to select another. Then we quarrelled violently with Mr. Munala."[90]

Kiimba returned home, and forced Bikaye to do the work he had been told to do. If his people did not follow his orders, how could he be a chief? And if one person refused to work without wages, why would the next one work? An indication that this threat to chiefly power was not yet generally perceived is that the Lukiko criticized Kiimba for failing to uphold Ganda standards of politeness towards the District Commissioner. It concluded, "After listening to all this we found Kiimba guilty because he had caused this

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[89] Lukiko 62, 20 November, 1905.

[90] Lukiko 7-8, 29 May 1905.

quarrel by his insistence that a man, whom 'bwana' said shall not go, should go on this journey."[91] In 1905, the chiefs in the Lukiko did not, as a group, doubt their capacity to command obedience from their followers.

Cash wages destabilized the bonds of people to chiefs, not only by giving people new expectations about the possible consequences of their labor, but also by providing a new means to acquire status that had come from having followers. After working in Entebbe, the saza chief Kiimba had a drum of praise, Kabalakoma, played along his route as he returned home. The purpose of the drum was to inform people that the government was pleased with his work; the Lukiko agreed because Kiimba had funds (presumably from being paid in Entebbe) to pay the drummers.[92]

Men who had earned salaries as mission teachers, or as translators or clerks for the Protectorate got mailo land in the original allocation: their wealth in rupees gave them power that translated into chiefly status as land holders.[93] These people were not buying land with their wealth in money; they were being given land because they had wealth in money. A notorious case of this was Bazade, a Munyoro servant of the chief Mugema, who probably had arrived in Buganda as a slave. He became a treasurer for Mugema, the saza chief of Busiro, the county where all the kabakas' graves were located. Bazade was a clerk and interpreter for the British in 1900, and he received a square miles of land in Busirro, and later got two miles in Bunyoro. Twenty years later when the appalling story

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[91]Ibid.

[92]Lukiko 17, 19 June 1905.

[93]Commission 459, Pasikale Bambaga.

of a Munyoro slave becoming the owner of a square mile was raised before the Butaka Commission, Bazade justified himself saying he was "a naturalized Muganda" and "had acquired all the native customs of the Baganda." He had gotten the mile in Busirro when it was discovered that someone else's estate was larger than the amount allotted to him. When asked specifically if he had been a chief at the time of the allocation, he replied,

> "I was a chief by virtue of being chief Mugema's Treasurer; and I was also Interpreter here at Kampala; and when Mr. Sturrock came to Buganda he found me Interpreter here at Kampala."[94]

As holding an office for a saza chief did not signify chiefly status for others, Bazade's ability to convince the Lukiko to allocate him land must have been his status as interpreter. Perhaps Bazade had gotten the land by subterfuge because he was a clerk, but that was not the accusation made in the 1920s. Instead, witnesses were outraged that the Lukiko had overlooked the man's questionable foreign origins in assigning him land. In 1900, before wage labor had become routine and even before chiefs began to receive salaries, the anomaly of Bazade's wealth that came from Europeans gave him status that had made him the appropriate recipient of a mailo. Baganda mission teachers and wage earners obtained mailo the same way; the objection to Bazade was not that wealth in money should not have translated into control of land, but that Bazade was a foreigner.

Before 1910, rupees had become an essential part of the vocabulary of social relationships in Buganda. This happened when salaries were added to control of land as markers of chiefly status, and when rupees, rather than produce and labor, became a form of tribute that followers were obligated to present to chiefs. Salaries paid to chiefs in

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[94]Commission 483, Hezekiya Bazade.

rupees had the long-term effect of re-orienting those chiefs away from their followers and toward the Protectorate. While this may have been the goal intended by the Protectorate authorities, the salaries had different meanings for the Ganda and the British, especially at the beginning. The British conceived of salaries as payment to chiefs for their work, and withheld salaries when work was not accomplished, but the chiefs in the Lukiko seem to have viewed salaries in rupees as a marker of status.[95] In an argument about fines, Kaggwa criticized his fellow Regent Stanislaus Mugwanya, "If poor people are fined Rs. 100 for such offenses what will happen to regents who receive salaries?"[96] The Lukiko asked for salaries for people with high social status, whether or not they were doing work. ""Greetings. We are informing you that the Princes Glamanzane Ndaula and Yusufu Kiwewa have no official salary. We beg the Government to consider their situation sympathetically."[97] Ndaula and Kiwewa had high status in terms of land, part of the thirty two miles assigned to princes, but once the saza chiefs were receiving salaries, the position implied by their control of land was no longer enough. Rupees became part of the tribute that people on the land gave to those who had allocated it in 1908, when the Lukiko recorded that it had decided "that for every produce from the land he (the landowner) shall be entitled to a share of 1/10th, that is Rs 1 from every Rs 10 proceeds from the sale of whatever the produce from the land."[98] This began the transition of tribute

[95]Lukiko 7, April 29, 1905.

[96]Lukiko 13, 12 June 1905.

[97]Lukiko 79, April 17, 1907.

[98]Lukiko 100, March 24 1908.

into rent, and rent into an economically valueless symbol of a social relationship, that would characterize relationships on the land for the rest of the twentieth century.

Tax in Rupees and in Labor

While British assumptions regarding their power in Buganda posed a challenge which was as yet unrecognized by the Baganda chiefs, and the insertion of money into social relationships was beginning to have subtle effects on the relationship of chiefs and followers, the imposition of tax in rupees had immediate, powerful, and dramatic consequences. Taxation undermined chiefship, first, because chiefs could not protect people as they were supposed to do, and secondly, because when people fled taxation there was no one left over whom they could rule.

Ganda responded immediately to the imposition in 1900 of a 3 rupee hut tax, which could also be paid as one month's labor. Exactions by political authorities made sense in Buganda, and people treated the tax as a form of tribute. The stations of collectors overflowed with matoke flour, sesame, sisal, sheep, and cowries which were accepted in lieu of rupees.[99] The strong response caused the Government to change the rules in 1901 to accept rupees only. (In 1901, the hundreds of thousands of cowries that had been taken in 1900 were burnt.[100]) The Entebbe officials had difficulty finding enough work for the labor that became available, and the poor organization of labor caused great

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[99]Samwiri Mukasa, "The Record of My Service to the Kingdom of Buganda," quoted in D. A. Low, ed., The Mind of Buganda: Documents of the Modern History of an African Kingdom, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971, 59-60.

[100]Cyril Ehrlich, 'The Economy of Buganda, 1893-1903', Uganda Journal, 20/1 (1956):17-25, 20.

hardship. Payment of taxes became more difficult after the first year, as people had already given the rupees that had been in circulation, and in kind payments were not accepted.[101] At first, Ganda notions of who should not be obliged to work, because of age, illness, or other incapacity, were upheld, even though the District Commissioner insisted on checking the exemptions.[102]

Hut tax was different from tributes that had been collected in the past, however, because people had to go outside of their productive activities to produce rupees, and the wealth that was collected went further away. The secretary of the Lukiko articulated this in 1900, "Ever since the European made the Buganda Government a well which he drains at its spring--I mean the collection of taxes--what water do you expect to find in the well?"[103] The essence of the problem was that Hut Tax required rupees, which people did not have. Some people pawned their children in order to pay tax, and others were said to have committed suicide because they could not find the money.[104] Hut tax drained the spring of Ganda productivity by requiring cash that could only be obtained by offering labor outside the realm of the Ganda productive activities. Not only did this movement to work take people away from the hand manufacturing and activities that would otherwise have occupied them, but people suffered great material hardship travelling to work in an

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[101]Tomkins to Sadler, 16 April 1902, Entebbe Secretariat Archives, A8/2, quoted in Low 1960, 101.

[102]Samwiri Mukasa, quoted in Low, Mind of Buganda, 60.

[103] Lukiko 68, letter dated 30 July 1900.

[104]Mengo Notes, December 1900, quoted in Low, 1960, 100.

economy in which feeding was not commodified (see chapter five). People paid hut tax for several years before the spread of cotton cultivation gave them a source of rupees close to home, and the search for rupees in those years had enduring effects on Ganda social relationships. A common response to the difficulty posed by taxes was the Ganda response to a chief who made onerous demands--migration.

Leaving to avoid labor was ordinary and logical; in 1904, Lumondakuamatoke explained his suspicious departure from the village soon after a fire had destroyed his wife's lover's house was not incriminating, he had left because he "wanted to go and live on another village where they do not work."[105] By 1901, there was a colony of Baganda across Lake Victoria in Kisumu, people who had left Buganda in order to avoid taxes.[106] In 1902, touring British officials noted that people had left for German territory or for Toro in order to avoid paying tax or doing labor. Describing Mawogota, Spire wrote, "In passing through the county my course led me from one deserted village to another. The place is fast becoming a wilderness."[107] According to the reports of District Officers, 800 families left Buyaga in 1904, and 2000 men left Kakumiro.[108] Even chiefs moved to avoid taxation: Kaima, one of the saza chiefs, wrote to the Lukiko demanding that it send home

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[105]Lukiko 4, 12 August 1904.

[106]Her Majesty's Commissioner to Collector Kampala, 17 July 1901, Entebe Secretariat Archives 19/1, quoted in Atanda, 4.

[107]Tomkins to Commissioner, 16 April 1902, ESA a8/1; Spire to Commissioner, 24 October, 1902 E.S.A. A8/2; quoted in Atanda 10-11.

[108]Enclosures in Tomkins to Commissioner,3 march 1904 and 17 February 1904, in ESA A8/4, quoted in Atanda 13.

his sub-chiefs who were hiding from tax by staying in the capital.[109] British officials' perception of population loss are confirmed by reports from the saza chiefs of famine and marauding animals. Wild animals came into populated areas when the population declined. Samwiri Mukasa, the saza chief of Bulemezi, wrote that wild pigs, bush bucks, monkeys and buffaloes were eating food, and even intercepting people on the roads, and there was famine in the area in 1907.[110]

Conflicts over labor created an impossible contradiction for people who saw themselves as wielding authority within the logic of kusenga. Providing what one's superior asked for was essential to being a chief; taking care of followers was also essential to being a chief. In the same years that the powerful chiefs of Buganda were assigning to themselves huge mailo estates, they were attempting to satisfy their superiors and hold onto the people below them. By the time cotton cultivation reversed the flow of people out of Buganda, the character of chiefship had perceptibly shifted.

Chiefs in the Lukiko did not seem to question their ability to supply the labor asked for by the Protectorate and that which was required for the "good of the kingdom." When chiefs experienced difficulty meeting excessive labor demands, they blamed each other for defective techniques in calling out labor. While the Ganda chiefs willingness to provide labor has been seen as evidence of their eagerness to collaborate with British overrule, their concern for meeting labor demands can also be understood as an assertion

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[109] Lukiko 64, 18 December 1905.

[110] Lukiko 85, August 12, 1907.

of their capacity as rulers of people. The Lukiko's response to a request for 500 laborers in September, 1905, is typical:

> "We have seen it [your letter] very well. We shall immediately send messages to the counties where drums shall be sounded. That is how men shall be gathered quickly. As soon as they arrive we shall send them to you. Goodbye our friend."[111]

They immediately wrote to the saza chiefs:

> "Mr. S. Tomkins very much wants labourers to the number of 500 on this very day. Go through the people and beat drums and send all those who respond to the drum. Everybody shall find work, even those who have already paid their poll tax should come and work for more rupees to make them rich."[112]

The Lukiko's cheerful request for 500 workers immediately indicates the chiefs' perception, in 1905, that people would be available to work when they were asked to do it. The demands made that year were listed by Stanley Tomkins following his tour to investigate the massive out-migration of Ganda peasants: the people who spoke to him said they had to work one month for their three shilling tax to the Protectorate Government, one month for the chief, they had to cultivate Government land, and do "Bulungi Bwa Nsi," the work of bridging swamps, building the houses and fences of chiefs, and maintaining roads which Ganda men had always done. [113]

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[111]Lukiko 56, 4 September 1907.

[112]Ibid.

[113]Stanley Tomkins, Report of a Tour Through Mawokota, Busuju, Gomba, Buddu, Kabula, Singo, 12 November 1903, Enclosure in Tomkins to Commissioner, Entebe, 13 November 1903, E.S.A. A8/3, quoted in Atanda, 12.

Whatever the chiefs expected, Ganda commoners were not able to meet the multiplying demands for their labor. Bickering about which chiefs were and were not doing their share providing labor became common in the Lukiko. Tomkins suspected, probably correctly, that the largest landowners were able to direct calls for labor away from their own tenants and he threatened to stop chiefs "who are actually avoiding making their people work, to induce crowds to settle on their lands."[114] When the saza chief Kasuju complained that "now when we call them (people asked to come out to work] they won't come," he was told to call people only for important business, not small occasions.[115] Mbogo, the uncle of the Kabaka, complained that Mamba clansmen should have helped to rebuild the shrine of deceased Kabaka Suna, but "I am the only one working on the building..., with the people on my estate. The Mamba clansmen should not lie to you by saying that they work under their leader. Because Wapore could not find men and he consequently returned here."[116] Chiefs accused each other of forcing other people's tenants to work, and leaving their own undisturbed. A landlord with one mailo and three tenants, for example, might be asked to provide all three for a communal project, and when his superior asked for more people and he had none to provide, the landowner would be fined. Kaggwa lectured the chiefs in the Lukiko that this problem was "due to you chiefs who tend to choose men other that your own tenants or if you do choose them

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[114]Tomkins to Sadler, 18 November 1903 E.S.A. A8/4, quoted in Atanda 13.

[115]Lukiko 9, 29 May 1905.

[116]Lukiko 80, 22 April 1907.

then you do not know how to choose men."[117] The expectation that people would leave home to work "for rupees to make them rich" was coming directly into conflict with the expectation that people producing on the land would make chiefs powerful.

Trying to determine why it had been unable to find 1,000 workers that had been asked for early in 1907, the Lukiko investigated how many workers had been supplied by each saza chief. It punished the chiefs who had not sent a large number of men with fines of Rs. 5, 7, or 15, and those who had not sent any with fines of Rs. 50.[118] This action led to an angry discussion in which the chiefs accused each other of fining improperly. The saza chief Kitunzi said that in order to find laborers,

> "the Kabaka should empower us to fine any of the people we govern. That is how they will grow to respect us and summon people quickly to respond when we call."

But Lubebe responded,

> "Is he saying so because he has never fined any of us since he became Saza chief? When he always fines people, does he come to you first to ask permission?"

Kitunzi, shamed, sat down without saying a word. This prompted the powerful saza chief Kasuju to point out that the regents were constantly fining the saza chiefs, but "the Kampala people" never imposed fines. The minutes of the Lukiko record "We saw that his was a question that might incite others to disobey. So we told him that although we were not fined by the Kampala powers we would continue fining others including himself."[119]

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[117]Lukiko 12, 17 April 1907.

[118]Lukiko 81, 10 June 1907.

[119]Lukiko 82, 10 June 1907.

The chiefs in the Lukiko were struggling with a problem of authority that arose from labor requests by "the Kampala people," which were beyond the capacity of Buganda to meet. But in order to demonstrate their capacity and effectiveness as chiefs, to themselves and to Kampala, the Ganda chiefs struggled to make laborers available. The pressure that was exerted, from regents to saza chiefs, from saza chiefs to lower chiefs, and from lower chiefs to people, altered the expectations of the interactions of chiefs and followers.

When people responded to the intensifying tax and labor demands by migrating, efforts to obtain tax and labor became more coercive. The Lukiko eliminated the exemption for people living on Protestant and Catholic Missionary estates, because "we have many tasks nowadays, what with being asked to provide labourers for Kampala we are conferring very hard and that is why saza chiefs were called upon to get labourers from estates belonging to the churches."[120] In December, 1908, Kaggwa proposed a draconian plan under which any person who had not worked at construction, bridge building, or employment for Europeans would be fined 10 rupees: 3 for tax, 3 for not working, and 4 as rent to their landlords. Kaggwa reported to the Lukiko a discussion he had had with the Governor, which, whether he intended it or not, graphically described the effects of cash on Ganda productive relationships,

> "If we do not go into this matter, how shall all the people have to be employed? Europeans have been able to make so much cotton cloth which all the people now wear and this means no employment for our workers who used to make barkcloth. We do not even have a smithy for the making

[120]Lukiko 79, 17 April 1907.

> of iron sheets. There is only one occupation and that is to be employed on manual jobs."[121]

In September, 1909, Kaggwa told the Lukiko that people would not be allowed to move away from their bibanja (plots of allocated land) until they had paid their tax. Also, anyone who had not paid their tax by the end of March would be fined an extra Rs. 2.[122] The conundrum of chiefs and Protectorate officials asking for more from people who had the option of withdrawing their labor and moving away was resolved with the rapid spread of cotton cultivation for cash. Cash income from cotton production eased some of the tensions that taxation had introduced into Ganda social relationships, but at the same time it exacerbated challenges to the social logic of kusenga and the social network of clans.

Conclusion

The allocations of private land made by the Lukiko demonstrated the continuing validity of Ganda perceptions of land, but also the limitations of those meanings in a new context. The ruling chiefs, who had absorbed much of the power of the kabaka, used mailo to solidify their power through control of land. Clan heads lost control of substantial amounts of land, expressing the reduced power of clans in the current political order; and the authority of the Lukiko to allocate all land immediately came in conflict with the authority of the dead over land. Ganda intentions with mailo were the goals of kusenga; chiefs who were allocated land without people complained and tried to get different land;

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[121]Lukiko 106, 14 December 1908.

[122]Lukiko 112, 27 September 1909.

and remembered histories emphasize the apparent worthlessness of land without people. However, the logic of kusenga was profoundly challenged by implementation of the Hut Tax component of the 1900 agreement. The draining of the spring of Ganda productivity through taxes and labor demands created tensions in the relationships of superiors to their people at the same time that cash wages began to provide alternative sources of both status and sustenance. The allocation of mailo land contributed to a narrowing of the locations of power in Buganda, while cash wages, taxes and labor demands strained Ganda social relationships.

CHAPTER FIVE
CHALLENGES TO GANDA SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, 1906-1920

In the years immediately following the consolidation of power by elite Protestant chiefs through the allocation of mailo, Ganda social institutions underwent subtle but profound transformations. After the upheaval of the late nineteenth century, people had attempted to resume familiar, effective habits of interaction that protected and sustained them and maintained Buganda from generation to generation. With the abolition of ebitongole chiefship and other forms of authority represented in control of land, productive labor no longer defined particular groups of people in the way it had in the past. However, work and gifts of the fruits of work still linked all the parts of the Ganda polity. Mailo land owners, like chiefs, attached followers through kusenga: the assignment of a plot of land implied an exchange of protection from the land giver, and loyalty and service from the land receiver. In 1900, clan elders still maintained links between people in gatherings at the burial sites of ancestors, and lineage networks and less formal groups of neighbors continued to provide for each other assistance in house-building, loaned food, and hospitality to strangers that enabled people to ensure their well-being. Half a generation later, in about 1920, the institutions of chief, clan, and lineage network still existed, but peoples' strategies for sustenance had changed. Networks of support and expectations of reciprocity operated on a smaller scale.

Many explanations for the transformation of Ganda social relationships do not actually hold up under close examination. British colonial authorities did not cause them: whatever intentions they might have had for social change in the colony, Ganda men and women made decisions about their own lives without European participation. Nor is it accurate to assume that rupees, wages, cash crops and masses of goods for purchase had automatic effects on the values, goals, and life strategies of Baganda. What happened in Buganda in the early twentieth century does not confirm the perception of missionaries, traders, and colonial officers--clearly resonant in the discourse of Marxist thinkers and neo-liberal development planners in more recent times--that cash and consumer goods had an intrinsic weight that would pull people towards individualistic motivations and displace the logic of production for the purpose of maintaining social relationships. Actually, people in Buganda used cash money, obtained through wage labor, sale of cotton, or independent trade, to pursue the acquisition of wealth in people. Land-rich Ganda chiefs and relatively poor Ganda tenants attracted followers, in the form of migrant laborers from other parts of Buganda and the Belgian colonies. Ganda adherence to non-commodified forms of social relationships gave the Baganda a consistent advantage over European employers in attracting and keeping labor.

The intense, overwhelming demands on Ganda productive activity, more than any other factor, exerted pressure on Ganda social institutions that reduced their range and effectiveness. In a society which defined and perpetuated social institutions through exchanges of labor and produced goods, extraordinary calls on people's labor made the maintenance of institutions impossible. The relationship of chiefs and their people, and the

strength of links among clan members, were stretched beyond endurance by multiple demands. These included labor for chiefs, the king, and the local community, and labor for colonial building projects and maintenance. At the same time, trade, education, and cotton cultivation offered Baganda new ways to invest their productive capacities. There were simply not enough people in Buganda, particularly after the demographic decline caused by war, plague, famine, sleeping sickness, to do the work to sustain all these relationships.

The constant, enervating labor demands of the first decades of colonial rule had permanent effects on Ganda society. The institution of chiefship split in two: appointed chiefs remained but lost much of their credibility as protectors of people, while thousands of people replicated chiefship on a tiny scale by becoming owners of relatively small amounts of land and offering a reduced level of protection and patronage to followers. The power of lineage networks and clans to take care of people was reduced by the colonial control of the paths to political power. Lineage networks were also fundamentally challenged by women's increasing ability to set up households independent of men, and the possibility that heirs might choose to commodify the assets of a lineage for their own personal benefit.

World War I and the boom in commodity prices after the war intensified demands for labor. People to do all the work that was called for could not be found without coercion; consequently, fines rather than gifts came to dominate the language of exchange. By 1920, things people would have taken for granted only a few years earlier-- that courtesy would characterize interactions with the powerful, that food would be available if

they travelled, that women would remain dependent under husbands or brothers, that a nearby chief would provide decent living conditions if their own chief did not--were no longer necessarily true.

Ganda leaders who launched an articulate protest against the changes in Buganda (described in Chapters Six and Seven) claimed that a cash economy and British overrule were not incompatible with Ganda forms of organizing society. They stated that what had ruined Buganda was chiefs who did not rule well, and they asked for the return of authority figures, such as clan leaders, who would do a better job. In the context of the enormous pressures exerted on Ganda social institutions after 1900, their diagnosis makes sense. In this chapter I argue that incessant demands for labor by the colonial government provoked the protest about Butaka land. Ganda chiefs and lineage networks could not maintain their role of caring for people in the face of the overwhelming labor demands. The first section outlines the layering of demands on people's productive activity from the beginning of cotton production in 1904 to 1923, when kasanvu (forced labor) was abolished. The second section considers the effect of those demands on kusenga, the relationship that connected chiefs and their followers. The third section examines the deterioration of clans and lineage networks' ability to take care of people. The final section describes how Baganda responded to the demands that were being made on them: by recreating chiefship as land ownership, by developing new strategies for clan support, and, in 1919, by protesting to the Protectorate Government in Entebbe that its labor demands were unbearable and things would have to change.

Too Much Work: New Labor, Old Tribute, and the Possibilities of Cash for Cotton

In Buganda before 1893, people's work expressed a relationship of allegiance with a chief or other leader. Men built broad roads and bridges over swamps that led to the capital from all directions. They made fences and houses in the chief's compound, and brought beer and bark cloth to their chief. People also responded when their own leader was called to do work for the king. They built fences and houses in the capital, produced goods that were the particular responsibility of that chiefship, and fulfilled the multiple work requirements of the king. Men also responded to labor calls from leaders of their clan to maintain the shrines of deceased kings.[1] Devotees of a lubaale spirit built homes and farmed in proximity to a medium. The importance of work in maintaining relationships is evident in the missionary C.W. Hattersley's description of people assembling to rebuild the tomb of Mutesa in 1907. Chiefs had been "stationed" on all the main roads, and at 3:30 in the morning the king's drums signalled it was time to assemble. When Hattersley arrived some time after six, he found "the whole countryside" gathered and "quite two thousand men" engaged in replacing the roof.

> When the squad of men belonging to a given chief had finished their part of the work they seized a reed and came before their chief, and before the Katikiro, to announce the completion of their portion, and danced up and down chanting peculiar refrains and behaving generally like madmen.[2]

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[1]Transcription of the Records of the Buganda Lukiko, English translation of the East African Institute of Social Research, seen by courtesy of Dr. John Rowe, 80, 27 May 1907. Hereafter referenced as Lukiko Record, with page number and date; Africana Collection of Makerere University, Papers of Apolo Kaggwa, Box XX CB 114, S. M. Kangawo to Apolo Kaggwa, 14 August 1911.

[2]Hattersley, Baganda at Home, 20.

The Lukiko gave Sezi Senkezi 130 rupees to thank him for supervising the work which Hattersley observed, but doing the work had been the obligation--and privilege--of everyone able to participate.[3]

How to obtain labor was a problem for newcomers to Buganda who wielded no authority over other people. Missionaries and travellers moved through the country only when it suited the Kabaka; otherwise, porters and food were not available. From the 1880s onward, visitors to Buganda who needed labor of some kind made arrangements with a chief, whose men then did the work. James Miti, who as a mid-level chief at this time would have experienced the dilemma himself, explained:

> Any man chosen to do such work was bound to obey and to go wherever he was required without being paid for his labour. African labour was cheap in those days and porters used to be obtained free of cost to transport luggage belonging to a Government official or to any other member of the European community in the country to places such as far-off Nimule and others...it was almost as difficult a task for the chief to obtain the necessary number of porters required from him from among his men as it was for the latter themselves to leave their homes and families and put in a spell of compulsory labour in a foreign country and for an indeterminate period under the most trying conditions.[4]

The Catholic and Protestant missions received labor given to them by chiefs who had converted, and also established the right to receive labor as "chiefs" of church-controlled land.[5] The authorities of the newly established Protectorate experimented with various

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[3]Lukiko Records, 94, 16 December, 1907.

[4]James Miti, the History of Buganda, 784.

[5] G.F. Scott Elliot, A Naturalist in Mid-Africa, London, Innes, 1896, 53, quoted in P. G. Powesland, Economic Policy and Labour, Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, No. 10, 1957, 5; Hansen, Holger Bernt. Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting: Uganda 1890-1925 (New York: St. Martin's

means of obtaining labor. British administrators who had respectful relationships with Ganda chiefs were able to obtain laborers, but chiefs refused to supply labor to British officers like W. J. Ansorge, known to the Ganda as "Njota Vuu" (a person who is so anti-social that no one will bring him firewood and therefore he stays in the dark).[6] The Protectorate also began to pay Shs. 6 per month to Baganda working in Port Alice in 1897. From that year missionaries were also able to find some people willing to work for wages, while continuing to obtain labor through their relationships with chiefs.[7]

Work Obligations in the New Buganda

Taxation

Unable or unwilling to conform to cultivate good will in order to receive labor, the Protectorate Government circumvented Ganda moral economy by imposing taxation. As we have seen in Chapter Four, the imposition of hut tax in 1900 and poll tax in 1905 had immediate and dramatic consequences: thousands of people left their homes to find rupees, and the inadequate provisions made for people laboring in lieu of tax caused great hardship and a significant number of deaths.[8] Although the Protectorate Government had been the first main beneficiary of people looking for ways to earn tax money, Ganda men

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Press, 1984), 91.

[6]W.J. Ansorge, Under the African Sun, London: Heinemann, 1899, 92.

[7]Hansen, 92. P. G. Powesland, "History of the Migration in Uganda", in Economic Development and Tribal Change, Audrey I. Richards, ed., Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons for the East African Institute of Social Research, 1954, 18.

[8] Bachelors were required to pay a poll tax of Rs. 2 starting in 1905, and in 1909 hut tax was abolished and replaced by a Rs. 5 poll tax on all adult males. Hansen, 178.

soon found other means. Some began to organize trading caravans to the Congo Free State and to German East Africa, hiring their own porters.[9] They worked as traders all over the Protectorate "right away to Gondokoro." Others worked as interpreters, clerks, builders, craftsmen, and servants.[10] The Baganda engaged in wage labor showed a keen awareness of appropriate remuneration: one collector lost his whole camp of 900 workers after he sent 100 to another employer and one of them returned to tell his fellows that more pay was being offered there.[11]

At the beginning of taxation, chiefs were fulfilling their protective role by finding wage labor for their people. Chiefs also sought other means for their followers to obtain tax money. The Lukiko Minutes record that in 1908 the Kangawo brought 721 "wicker bags" which had been made in his saza at the request of the Provincial Commissioner, and later the Mugema's people provided 100 of a specific type of bed; it appears that these goods were sold, and the profits returned to the people who had made them.[12] Poll tax and cash wages did not by themselves undermine the kusenga relationship, although, as we have seen in Chapter Four, some followers were able to use cash wages to obtain some of the things they had previously gotten from chiefs.

Cotton cultivation rapidly became the primary source of rupees for tax. Missionaries, chiefs, and government officials all claimed credit for introducing the crop.

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[9]Powesland, 7; quoting Hattersley in Mengo Notes, 1904, 85-6.

[10]Hattersley, 111, 113.

[11]Hattersley, 118-9.

[12]Lukiko Records, 100; 23 March 1908, 117.

The Protectorate authorities invested a considerable amount of energy and political capital in cotton cultivation: the Agricultural Officer, Provincial Commissioner, and District Officers travelled to promote it, and from at least 1909 onwards chiefs were evaluated partly on the basis of the amount of cotton grown in their sazas.[13] The British were so eager to ensure Ganda cultivation of cotton that men who had "2 good sizeable cotton shambas" were exempted from work for the Government in 1908.[14] In addition to growing cotton for sale, Baganda traders with bicycles bought people's crops from them at their homes, and others ginned cotton using hand looms.[15] The work of growing cotton was at first organized as group labor for the chief: the drum was beaten, and people came to cultivate. After one or two seasons, cotton cultivation was integrated into Ganda patterns of work as a form of household production, from which the musenze, or tenant, gave a portion to the chief as tribute.[16]

Less than a decade after the imposition of poll tax, Protectorate authorities became frustrated with the amount of labor the tax brought forward. As early as 1907, the Lukiko members fought about their responsibility to find workers for the Protectorate. Finding

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[13] Lukiko Record, 90, 7 November, 1907; Entebbe Secretariat Archives, A46/421, SMP 1138, Buganda: Annual Report for 1909-1910; A46/422 SMP 1138 A, Buganda Annual Report, 1910-1911; A46/744 , Buganda Annual Report, 1919; A46/745 1920 Buganda Monthly Reports; A46/746, Buganda Quarterly Reports, 1920.

[14]Lukiko Records, 95, 6 January 1908.

[15]Hattersley, 69, 114.The colonial interventions which eliminated the place of Ganda entrepreneurs took place after the period under review.

[16] Christopher C. Wrigley, Crops and Wealth in Uganda: A Short Agrarian History, Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1959, 16, 47; Lukiko Record, 100, 24 March, 1908.

people who were able to work and willing to work became difficult as soon as people found alternatives to tax. The Lukiko announced in 1907 that all workers should be inspected first by the Lukiko, "so that we can select the fit and unfit ones," and "we shall pay them for the work if need be."[17] Ganda enthusiasm for cotton was one reason people could not be found to meet the labor calls of 500 or more at a time; another was the continuing process of population decline.[18] Early twentieth century observers estimated that Buganda had lost one third of its population since the early nineteenth century: the decline had been caused by enslavement, war, plague, and famine in the late nineteenth century, followed by the devastating sleeping sickness epidemic between 1903 and 1908. Sir Albert Cook, Medical Director of Mengo Hospital, estimated that the epidemic had killed 200,000 of the 300,000 people living in the immediate vicinity of the Victoria Nyanza. The Katikiro Apolo Kaggwa reported to the Buganda District Commissioner that only 250 people remained alive out of 1,542 who had lived on Bussi Island.[19] The lake shore had been the richest and most densely populated area of Buganda, but it became entirely desolate; no one fished or made canoes until repopulation began in 1918.[20]

Kasanvu forced labor

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[17]Lukiko Record, 93, 11 November, 1907.

[18] Wrigley, Crops and Wealth in Uganda, 44.

[19]Sir Hesketh Bell, Glimpses of a Governor's Life: From Diaries, letters, and Memoranda, London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., n.d., 112; Africana Collection of Makerere University Library, Papers of Apollo Kaggwa, CA64, Apolo Kagwa to H. F. Leakey, 11 November 1907.

[20]Hattersley, 131.

A diminishing population, the existence of cotton as a relatively benign alternative to wage labor, and the uncomfortable and sometimes dangerous conditions of work for the Protectorate combined to make volunteer workers hard to find. Chiefs who forced people to work were in danger of losing their followers. The Protectorate Government might have responded by improving the wages and accommodation of laborers, but instead, Sir Hesketh Bell, Governor of Uganda from 1906 to 1909, chose to impose a form of forced labor, kasanvu, in which chiefs were required to supply numbers of workers (1,000 or more) each month, based on lists of poll tax payers. The workers received wages of Rs. 3 per month, but they had no choice about having to work. Exemptions were granted only to chiefs and people in permanent employment.[21]

Kasanvu was rationalized by Protectorate officials as "based on the traditional bonds between the chiefs and their subordinates," and as a means of maintaining chiefs' control over their people.[22] Actually, it required chiefs to make their people go out to do work that everyone knew might be dangerous and unhealthy. Finding people to do kasanvu undermined chiefship, and some people's ability to avoid the obligation and make others liable for it transformed the character of relationships in clans and lineage networks. Governors and missionaries were correct in explaining that Ganda people worked for chiefs and for the Kabaka in order to demonstrate their respect and allegiance. What they failed to acknowledge was that obligations to the Protectorate doubled the amount of

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[21]Powesland, Economic Policy, 18; Hattersley, 118. Kasanvu means 7,000: the name probably is derived from the number of workers required in one of the early labor calls.

[22]CO Minute 26 April 1911, C)536/40-13005/11, quoted Hansen, 80.

work which was required of each person. In 1909, people worked for their chief for one month or Rs. 2, and they did luwalo, work for "Bulungi Bwa Nsi" (the good of the country), for one month. Poll tax for the Protectorate required Rs. 5 or two months' labor, and kasanvu was an additional month's work.[23] In 1912, kasanvu was increased to two months when labor needs required it.[24] The hapless Baganda followers who had no means of engineering exemptions for themselves were therefore obligated to demonstrate their respect and appreciation for being ruled by laboring for five to six months out of every year, or else to work for three to four months and pay their tax by selling cotton grown by their wives or other subordinates.

In addition to the five to six months a man was expected to devote to labor for the chief, the Kabaka, and the Governor, Christians were expected to provide labor to maintain churches and church estates, and candidates for baptism had to perform personal services, such as garden labor and carrying firewood, for their catechist. Chiefs, from the saza chief in charge of a whole province to the lower ranks of Sabawali, Musale, and numbered Mutubas, were also responsible for finding people for the army, the Belgian Carrier Corps, work on the railroad, and various Protectorate schemes such as training of policemen or apprenticeship in the public works department. In August of 1914, for example, fifty army recruits brought by Kasuju to the Lukiko were told "to return to their

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[23]Hansen, 199-9.

[24]Hansen, 180.

homes and keep a sharp ear for the drum calling them out, so that they can come quickly, without delay."[25]

The objects of work in the new Buganda

People called up for kasanvu helped make colonial rule possible by facilitating the tours of government officials. On his first trip to Kampala in 1906, Governor Bell took sixty-six porters. On a longer journey, his caravan consisted of more than 200 porters to carry tents, furniture, baggage and stores, twelve servants, and forty policemen.[26] Provincial Commissioners, District Officers, and Agricultural and Veterinary Officers also traveled with an entourage.

Most of Entebbe was built with poll tax or kasanvu labor. Governor Bell described his surprise at the "evidences of comfort and refinement" he found when he first arrived in 1906. The grounds of the Deputy Commissioner's house were almost "an old established English garden" with closely mown lawns, and "masses of splendid roses and other familiar flowers growing in profusion."[27] Entebbe was maintained, another observer noted, by a "perfect army of native water-carriers [who] keep up a constant stream between the Lake and the town."[28] Governor Bell considered Government House, not more than seven or eight years old at the time, "as ugly and prosaic a building as one would not wish to see," and sold it to South Africans to make a hotel. He built instead

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[25]Lukiko Record, 116, 29 August, 1914.

[26]Bell, 119, 131.

[27]Bell, 111.

[28]Hattersley, 63.

> "a really comfortable English house"..."the big "villa" type with very spacious verandahs on the ground floor. The reception rooms are large and lofty and nearly every bedroom has its own private little balcony commanding views over the lake that will make early breakfast a pure delight.[29]

The Governor explained in his diary that "a similar house could not be built in England for double the money" [L7,000]. He attributed his success to the presence of excellent building materials, the availability of skilled Indian artisans at low wages, and the fact that "all the unskilled labour has been supplied by natives glad to work for threepence a day [to pay their tax]."[30]

In Buganda, service to chiefs included some tasks which counted as contributions to the one month luwalo obligation, and others which had to be performed whenever the need arose. Building roads was a luwalo service. Excellently kept, broad roads had been a sign of good government in Buganda, and road building had been an event that involved everyone in an area. Hattersley observed that "thousands of people--indeed all living within a few miles on either side of the road" came with "earth in a basket to heap up the raised track."[31] The kinds of work that had to be performed "for the good of the country" increased in colonial Buganda. In 1907 and 1908, chiefs had to use the labor owed them to remove everyone from the shore of the Nyanza Victoria in an effort to end the sleeping sickness epidemic, build four huge hospital settlements for the thousands of infected

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[29]Bell, 114, 183.

[30]Bell, 184.

[31]Hattersley, 150.

people, and provide food for all of them.[32] In 1910 the Lukiko announced its decision that all residents of each Gombolola (an administrative unit of the newly rationalized Buganda administration, smaller than a province and larger than a parish) were required to construct the Gombolola office and private latrine, clear a site for European or other distinguished visitors to camp, and clear a site for porters; the printed announcement admonished that "the place must be kept clean to prevent disease spreading among those who come to the site to work."[33]

Any man unlucky enough to live in a saza where mailo land was being surveyed might be required to cut boundary lines for the surveying team. Two thousand people were involved in this work for the six months in 1910 and 1911 when the survey passed through Busiro.[34] One of the early surveyors described the departure of a surveying party from Entebbe:

> After much shouting by the headmen and with much harmless flourishing of whips the procession would be got under way, led by a drummer with a leopard-skin apron and befeathered cap, and flanked by three askaris carrying ancient Snider rifles. For a mile or so a jog trot would be kept up, the more exuberant of the porters dancing from the head to the tail of the line and back. But soon the safari would settle down to a steady march, spirits being kept up by a song from the vocalist of the party with a chorus in which all joined....[35]

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[32]Lukiko Record, 71, 7 January 1907, 80.

[33]Kaggwa Papers, CB26.

[34]ESA, A46/421, SMP 1138 "Buganda Annual Reports, 1909-1910."

[35]H.B. Thomas and A. E. Spencer, A History of Uganda Land and Surveys and of the Uganda Land and Survey Department (Entebbe: Government Press, Uganda, 1938), 75.

In 1914 the Lukiko discussed the problem of chiefs' inability to find people willing to do the heavy labor involved in the survey. They forbade recruitment of laborers in any area where the surveyors were working, and discussed paying the workers. The Lukiko members (who were the owners of the land being surveyed and who would have had to find the money for wages) in the end decided that the difficult labor of boundary cutting was part of the kusenga obligation. They stated, "It has been found impossible to pay these men. Because they themselves are Baganda and use the land for the growing of crops from which they derive cash. Further, they have been doing the job very well in the past, without any trouble...." If there were not enough tenants on some estates to do the work, those estates would have to be surveyed at a later time.[36]

Ganda chiefs had, in the past, been responsible for feeding people travelling through their territory on the Kabaka's business. Gifts of food were a token of allegiance, and the exact components of gifts were carefully noted by the Lukiko: "Stanislaus Mugwanya has presented the Kabaka with 800 bunches of matoke and seven goats"; and, on another occasion, "14 cattle, 46 goats, 300 chicken, and 700 miwumbo of food" were presented to the Saza chief and Mr. Leaky.[37] Saza chiefs wrote to Entebbe to inform Protectorate officers of the insult they had suffered when rival chiefs had presented gifts that were too small. However, it was clearly impossible for chiefs to continue to feed everyone who passed through their territory. Chiefs developed complex new rules regarding who received food freely and who was obliged to pay. Disputes over feeding

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[36]Lukiko Record, 113, 115, April 1914.

[37]Lukiko Record, 90, 82, 17 June, 1907.

travellers were heard in the Lukiko in 1905: a subsidiary chief who had refused to supply food to Simon Bitalo, sent out by the Lukiko "to catch bugs and ticks," was summoned to account for his failure. Another representative of the Lukiko told that he had been denied food by the chief Nankere, who told him to look for it himself. But then he was stopped by a European, who "told me to stop looking for food myself as people would say it was the European himself getting the food by those methods."[38] In 1907, "an up-country postman" carried strings of cowrie shells around his neck for buying food.[39] Lower-level chiefs were responsible for organizing the food for a rest camp, but travellers were expected to pay for the food that was provided.[40] Women followers provided the food and cooked it; it is difficult to determine whether women received payment for their work, or whether requiring followers to supply food was another source of income for chiefs. Finding, preparing, and carrying the food required by large numbers of travellers was a significant new burden on Ganda chiefs and their followers, even when they received a token cash remuneration for the food that was supplied to travellers who were not officials.[41]

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[38]Lukiko Records, 58, 60, 5 October 1905.

[39]Hattersley, 60.

[40]Lukiko Records, 10, 65, 23/1/1906.

[41]The vast amounts of food required along Hoima and Mubendi roads led eventually to the establishment of special farms for supplying the food, but prices were kept low. At one camp on Hoima Road, in Kisimbili, 1319 loads of food had been supplied in 1910, at a rate of 1 cent (1/100th rupee) per average sized bundle of cooked food. All the food required for feeding 1500 men would not have paid enough for one person's poll tax. Buganda Annual Report, 1910.

Within the calculus of kusenga, it was essential that Ganda chiefs show proper hospitality to visiting Protectorate officials, and to this end their people made elaborate preparations to accommodate visitors. A. R. Morgan, the first cotton inspector, described the protocol: he was met at the border of each saza by the chief, taken to the rest camp where he was given chickens, eggs and bananas, and, after his visit, escorted to the boundary of the saza where he was met by the next chief. He remembered that "the courtesy and kindness of the chiefs was at times almost embarrassing."[42] On one occasion when a lower-level chief felt he had not been assisted by others to provide hospitality to the visiting Governor, the Lukiko responded:

> Thanks for your letter in which you accuse the chiefs in your county. We have already decided the case against them. They were very wrong. And we, Lukiiko members, were very wrong for not sending chiefs in the county to meet Mr. Balozi. We understand our guilt, next time we shall send them to greet Balozi. Thank you for doing so many jobs and for seeing the Balozi safely out of your county. Kibali told us how much work you had to do.[43]

A properly greeted official was provided with quantities of food, and lodging suitable to the prestige of the guest had to be built for the occasion. Governor Bell described his camp on a safari in 1906:

> The camp we are occupying tonight is very pretty and has been constructed specially for me by the Chief of the locality. It is a very elaborate affair. Although we are only to occupy it for a night, a very handsome kibanda has been built for my own accommodation, and is substantial enough to last for a couple of years. It is about 25 feet by 18 and made of logs and reeds. The roof and walls are beautifully thatched and the floor of beaten clay is

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[42]A.R. Morgan, Uganda Journal, Vol. 22, No. 2, September, 1958, "Uganda's Cotton Industry - Fifty Years Back", 107-112, p. 110.

[43]Lukiko Records, 59, 2 October, 1905.

> strewn with a thick layer of sweet-scented lemon-grass. Smaller pavilions have been provided for my staff and such a number of huts, for kitchens and servants, that the place is quite a village. I am told that, all through my journey, I shall find similar accommodation, wherever I stop, even if it be only for a few hours' rest.[44]

In Ganda terms of the meaning of work, the investment of a chief's people's labor in building elaborate camps for "Bwana Balozi" ought to yield returns of gratitude and an obligation to demonstrate reciprocal consideration on the part of the ruler. The Ganda intention that work would maintain social connections did not translate well, however, and Bell recorded in his diary that the chief who had provided the camp "would expect no payment beyond a few words of thanks" and speculated that "these delightful conditions" would last "only so long as labour costs practically nothing."[45]

Responding to Overwhelming Labor Demands

Buganda underwent tremendous transformations in the decades following the consolidation of power by Protestant chiefs and their British allies. European residents tended to explain these changes in terms of the presence of things familiar to them: brick houses with tin roofs, everyone in church dressed in cloth, commerce in Kampala, and jam for sale at a reasonable price.[46] For Baganda, the most significant change in this time was not cloth, or the substitution of rupees for cowries, but the vastly increased amounts of work people had to do. Women had incorporated planting, weeding, harvesting, and carrying cotton into their agricultural work calendar. Men had added months of

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[44]Bell, 132.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Cook, Sir Albert. "Further Memories of Uganda." Uganda Journal 2:97-115, 104.

productive work for the Protectorate to the months of productive work they had already been doing for chiefs. Adding to the strain on Ganda productivity was a partial withdrawal of the productive capacities of children: 35,000 were reported to be in school in 1909, and 80,000 in 1913.[47]

The increased work meant a deterioration in people's standard of living. Missionaries, more than other outsiders, noticed the changes in daily life for Baganda created by these intensified work demands. One Mill Hill Father observed that conversion decreased precipitously with taxation, because men no longer had time to attend religious instruction.[48] In 1910 the C.M.S. annual report to the Protectorate regarding religion and education stated that the number of baptized Christians and of people offering to teach had declined as a result of "the forced labour and numberless calls on the common people."[49] Ganda houses, which had been admired by foreigners in the 1870s for their sturdy construction and neat appearance, now seemed to be poorly made. The production

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[47]Hansen, 190; Powesland 1957, 9. Tantala seminar paper.

[48] H. P. Gale, Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers, London: Macmillan and Co., 1959, 214.

[49]Cooper, the Provincial Commissioner, enclosed the missionary's letter in his annual report but added his own comments: the statement could not be taken seriously, was undoubtedly not the opinion of the Mission in general, and not worthy of the Church Missionary Society. "What is required out here is practical religion such as is preached by some of the finest men in the Church of England which teaches a man to work not only for his own good but for the good of his country, the people out here are only just beginning to learn that work is necessary and healthy for every man and that idleness is akin to immorality." He added his hope that the Mission would support the Government's implementation of kasanvu labor so the country "would advance" and "the moral tone of its people would be improved." ESA, A46 /421 SMP 1138, "Buganda Annual Report for 1909-1910."

and quality of domestic products, such as mats, baskets, pottery, and barkcloth, declined.[50] Sources of protein and variety in the Ganda diet were reduced when women eliminated one of two annual plantings of millet and simsim, and men stopped fishing in floodwater during the rainy season in order to find time for cotton cultivation.[51]

Baganda found a number of different ways to circumvent excessive demands for their labor that were making it impossible for them to maintain the quality of their lives. In an unusual case in 1915, a young man refused the request of the assistant of the Saza Chief Kago to carry loads of dried bananas for the Provincial Commissioner. He insisted on being brought before the Lukiko, where he claimed he was a Musoga, Tenywa son of Kikwaku, and therefore he should not have to carry the loads. But one member stood up "to say how the boy was brought up at his home and is perfectly a Ganda and that the names he has given are not his correct names." His uncle and mother testified against him, he admitted he was lying, and the Lukiko then "imposed ten lashes to be beaten to the boy for his resistance, bad behaviour towards his superior and hypocrisy."[52] A more common strategy was migration out of Buganda. Bishop Tucker, whose articulate and passionate defense of African rights often discomfited his own missionary flock, claimed that in its first year kasanvu had led to the depopulation of Buganda due to the migration of large

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[50]ESA SMP 1138 G, A46/429, "Buganda: Annual Report for 1916-1917.

[51]Lucy P. Mair, An African People in the Twentieth Century, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965 (first published 1934), 111.

[52]Lukiko Record, 173, 15/6/1915.

numbers of young men.[53] This trend continued. In 1914 a District Officer reported, "The natives find that so much is required of them, what with labour obligations to the chiefs and the Government and increased taxation that life is scarcely worth living in their own country. Many therefore go to East Africa [Kenya] and neighbouring Provinces where less is required of them...."[54] Moving onto church land was at first a means of mitigating the kasanvu obligation, because the church controlled kasanvu labor of its tenants until 1917 and asked them to do work that was close to home. When church tenants had to perform kasanvu as well as church labor, people considered living on church land to be a disadvantage, and began to leave.[55] People migrated to avoid kasanvu labor as long as the law was in force; the year following the abolition of kasanvu, statistics collected on the population of Buganda showed an increase for the first time.[56]

People also tried to obtain exemptions from kasanvu labor, which was the most onerous labor obligation because it took people far away from their homes, disrupted their ordinary life, and entailed staying in uncomfortable and often unsanitary conditions. Unlike poll-tax, kasanvu obligations could not be bought off with a payment of income from cotton. People therefore tried to turn themselves into "permanent employees," as three consecutive months of employment was the one legal means of exemption. One strategy

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[53]Hansen, 209.

[54]ESA SMP 1138 D, quoted in Powesland 1957, 23.

[55]Hansen, 193.

[56] Raymond Leslie Buell, The Native Problem in Africa, London: Frank Cass & Co., 1965 (first ed. 1928).

was to take employment at a sugar or rubber plantation: apparently many people attempted to obtain documentation of such employment without actually working.[57] Owning land automatically conferred the status of a chief, and obtaining an exemption from kasanvu was probably the most compelling motivation for purchase of small plots of land. Holding the position of a lower-level chief, steward of an important chief, or "church katikiro" gave a man exemption from kasanvu. People volunteered to be teachers, church wardens, and catechists because these were considered forms of permanent employment. (When kasanvu was abolished in 1921, the churches experienced serious difficulties filling these positions.) Artisans skilled in new trades and crafts were considered self-employed, but specialists in Ganda crafts apparently did not obtain exemptions. Thus, bricklayers, tailors, and carpenters did not have to perform kasanvu, but barkcloth makers, smiths, and canoe makers were not exempt.

Immigrants and Independent Ganda Women

Immigrants from other parts of Uganda, and later from the Belgian Congo, became a major part of the workforce in Buganda. In his detailed study documenting this process, Powesland suggests that immigrants working for low wages and for food fit into the place in Ganda households that had formerly been occupied by slaves captured from neighboring peoples. Like slaves a generation earlier, immigrant workers were treated as extensions of the family, and gave prestige to the person who employed them.[58] In 1913, Powesland

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[57]In 1914, the Lukiko decided that men who were absent from their permanent employment for more than three days would be sent to work kasanvu. Lukiko Record, 112, 4/1914.

[58]Powesland, 25.

estimates that 3,000 Banyoro were working for Baganda or for settlers in Buganda. During World War I, Ganda employed Basoga, Banyoro, Batoro, Bagishu, and Kavirondo, according to Hamu Mukasa. Banyarwanda began to emigrate from the Belgian Congo following famine in 1923 and the imposition by Belgian authorities of a policy of compulsory cultivation of particular crops in 1924. Immigrants came to Buganda from every direction, passing up employment opportunities elsewhere in the Protectorate because they preferred the conditions of employment with Baganda.[59]

The doubling of labor demands, along with the new possibilities created by cash payment for cotton, caused another profound shift in the pattern of Ganda households: women began to control land independently. Although Baganda already had a word, nnakyeyombekedde, for a woman who controlled land independently of men, this situation appears to have become much more common in the first decades of the twentieth century. At the time that cotton cultivation began, chiefs and landowners began to give ebibanja, the plots of land to farm that indicated a relationship of kusenga, to women who were not attached to men. Erinama Sebanditira explained that her mother had been widowed in 1909, and the brothers of her husband were hostile to her, so she found a chief who gave her a kibanja in return for her commitment to grow cotton for him.[60]

Concern in Luganda newspapers over chiefs giving land to women suggests that this became a common practice. In 1921, a writer to Ebifa complained that the number of bannakyeyombekedde (women who controlled land independently) had become the same

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[59]Powesland 1957, 21, 42, 37, Powesland 1954, 21, 30.

[60]Sebanditira 1/?/1995.

as the number of men in the villages, and that all women wanted to leave their husbands and be free to grow lots of cotton on their own behalf. He urged authorities to prevent women from moving freely and growing cotton if they had no husband.[61] Complaints in Munno, the Catholic newspaper, in 1927 described the threat of bannakyeyombekedde to families: women who left husbands to grow cotton on their own would be reluctant to return to their husbands, and their fathers and brothers would have no influence over them. The writer blamed the problem on chiefs who gave land to women.[62]

Women may have chosen the option of becoming the tenant of a chief/landowner over being the wife of someone who was a tenant as a result of tensions in the household created by the new work of planting, weeding, harvesting, and carrying cotton. At first, cotton cultivation was women's work because it was farming: in 1910 the Agricultural Officer reported matter-of-factly that women grew the crop.[63] Twenty years later, however, agricultural officers recorded that women in Buganda were no longer growing cotton for their husbands; Mair wrote that women grew cotton for themselves, but a wife could leave a husband who expected her to cultivate cotton for him.[64] This fundamental transition in the assignment of domestic labor suggests a struggle between Ganda men and women that might well have motivated women to choose to control land on their own

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[61]Ebifa 12.25: 301-302; I am grateful to Mikael Karlstrom for this and the following references from Munno.

[62]"How single women living alone spoil people's homes." Munno 1.27:7-18; see also Munno 9.31:144.

[63]Quoted in Powesland 1954, 20.

[64]Powesland, 38-9, Mair, 95.

account when the option became available. The renegotiation of the gendered division of labor in which women succeeded in freeing themselves from the obligation of growing cotton for their husbands must have been acrimonious: it drew comments from foreign men, a group not usually attuned to conditions within the Ganda household. Writing in 1907, Hattersley drew a parallel between Ganda women and feminine agitators in his own society:

> The men have to do more, for women 'suffragettes' have appeared. These insist that, if they are not supplied with European clothing--that is, white calico or coloured clothes--the banana supply for the family will stop; they will no longer cultivate, but go off and get work as labourers, and earn money with which to clothe themselves satisfactorily.[65]

Eighteen years later, the American Raymond Buell responded to the concern that "the burden upon the native women has been increased as a result of the cotton industry" by arguing that "preparing the ground for cotton planting, as well as cotton picking require very little work of an exacting nature." He suggested that "In view of the growing indolent 'feminism' of many Buganda women, which has been produced by sudden wealth, it would seem that a little honest work [cultivating cotton for their husbands] would do them good."[66]

Although there are no direct references to cotton in the slim documentation of gender relations in Buganda before 1920, domestic tensions are very apparent. In 1905, Bulazi Bulezi bit off his wife's ear because she had fed her lover twice in his house, and received 300 cowries from him; Balironda was speared to death when he attempted to set

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[65]Hattersley, 109.

[66]Buell, 624.

fire to the home of a man he thought had taken his wife; Adamu Kiyonagu was fined by the Lukiko for tying his wife up with ropes to get her to confess that she had had an abortion.[67] Zakaliya Maganga tried for months to get his wife to return to him, and never succeeded, although he got the Lukiko to threaten to imprison the wives of the brother with whom Zakaliya thought she was hiding if they failed to produce her.[68] In 1909, Lwabaka Nambi, the daughter of Kisingiri, one of the most powerful chiefs of the time, left her husband and refused to return unless he stopped bringing beer and women into her house and beating her, or until he gave her Rs. 500 compensation.[69] A laconic notation in the Lukiko Record in 1916 tells the story of a woman named Muwanika who got into a quarrel with her husband in 1916. He asked her to bring him ten cents (ten one hundredths of a rupee), but "because the wife was feeling unwell, she did not wish to give it to him in a respectful manner (kneeling down on both knees.)" Instead, she threw it out the door towards him, which "resulted in a quarrel between the parties for not respecting him." The neighbors were compelled to separate them, but "a little while later" Muwanika picked up a stick and hit her husband on the head, then ran into the house, hid behind the door, and stabbed him in the chest with a knife when he entered. He died while the neighbors were raising an alarm, and Muwanika set the house on fire.[70] The Lukiko record noted in 1916 that "a lost woman has been found on Nakasero road," and they decided to return the

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[67]Lukiko Record, 40, 10/7/1905; 41, 17/7/1905; 48, 24/7/1905.

[68]Lukiko Record, 56, 4/9/1905.

[69]Kaggwa papers, 9/10/1909, CB 14.

[70]Lukiko Records, 188-9, 8/1/1916.

woman to her father, where her husband could find her if he was still interested. The "lost" woman had apparently been taking care of herself for the two years since she had "disappeared from her husband," but her own intentions for the future were not considered by the Lukiko.[71]

The woman who had disappeared from her husband two years earlier and the wife Zakaliya Maganga was unable to recover might have been among the women who had obtained ebibanja from chiefs and mailo owners. People who controlled land had many good reasons to make women their followers. Giving land to women who wanted it increased the income of the land allocator: at this time landlord/chiefs received one-tenth (and sometimes more) of a tenant's cotton crop.[72] Competition to attract followers was intense: men had left Buganda in order to avoid labor and taxes. Wage labor for the colonial government and trade also removed men from rural life. Each muganda who bought a piece of mailo land needed to populate his land with followers, so the accelerating process of land sale also increased the need for followers. Women tenants were in a way preferable to men, because women were not be called up for kasanvu or obligated to pay poll-tax, so they were more available to do the chief's work. Although luwalo had traditionally been a men's obligation in the Ganda gendered division of labor, women were observed to be doing most of the road work in 1910.[73]

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[71]Lukiko Record, 206, 16/3/1916.

[72]Wrigley, 53.

[73]P. Macqueen, In Wildest Africa, 354-5, quoted in Powesland 1954, 18.

It is possible that chiefs were motivated to make women their tenants at this time because there were more unattached adult women than there had been previously. The sleeping sickness epidemic was said to have killed seven times more men than women.[74] Sexually transmitted diseases, which had become rampant in Buganda with the caravan trade, probably caused women to be cast off by their husbands because they had not had children. Men also avoided marriage and a settled home as a strategy in avoiding poll tax and kasanvu obligations. Women may also have become independent controllers of a plot of land after traditional divorce imposed as a requirement for their husband's baptism. Christian men had to divorce all but one wife in order to be baptized. The Regents claimed that this would cause no hardship for the women who were to be divorced. Perhaps the Regents made this claim because the "divorced" women did not actually leave their husbands; perhaps they believed that women would be able to return to the care of their brothers.[75] A few renegade missionaries who objected to the policy on monogamy claimed that women who were discarded ceased to be under the control of any men.[76] In a social context in which women felt aggrieved by the new burdens of cotton cultivation, men were absent to avoid labor or absent doing labor, and chiefs were looking for followers, it makes sense that women began to attach themselves to chiefs on their own.

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[74]Hattersley, 113-4.

[75]Hansen, 272.

[76]Bell, 201.

In addition to becoming followers of chiefs, women were granted mailo or bought mailo, giving them the chief-like status of other mailo land holders. The Lukiko recorded sales of land to women, the granting of surpluses after survey to women who asked for them, and transactions in which one woman land owner passed on her land to another woman land owner.[77] Petero Kyegulumiza, a lower level chief in Singo, sold land to a woman, Azedi Nakaima, but then brought two cases against her in the Lukiko, claiming "she went and took all my headquarters." The Lukiko resolved the case in her favor in February, 1914: they had sent representative to look at the land and did not think Petero had any cause for complaint.[78]

Royal women had always controlled land independently in Buganda, but those women had not had children. Women's ability to kusenga by themselves, and not as the productive workers attached to husbands, posed challenges to Buganda society that were not easily resolved. When women pulled away from husbands and brothers to become the tenants of chiefs independently, who was responsible to take care of those women in hard times? If women who had attached to chiefs by themselves had children, to which lineage units did the children belong? The partial unbinding of the household was one of the most profound consequences of the intensification of labor demands in colonial Buganda.

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[77] Lukiko Record, 52, 14/2/1905; 100, 23/3/1908; 122, 14/9/1914; 130, 9/10/1914; 130, 9/10/1914, 148, 12/1/1915, among others.

[78]Lukiko Record, 126, 2/10/1914.

The Missed Meanings of Labor Exchange

Ganda chiefs trusted Hesketh Bell, the Governor who initiated kasanvu. James Miti, the Katikiro of Bunyoro, remembered that "he was very much liked by the people on account of his consideration and attention to their needs. He would on all occasions consult the interests of the people of the Protectorate. His laws and other official pronouncements were a true reflection of the sympathetic interest that he took in the people of Uganda."[79] Chiefs showed their positive feelings for Bell through offering him huge numbers of well-mustered workers. Bell, on his part, had the sensitivity to notice what was being done for him: he searched out the back of his camp, where "quite a small mountain" of food was being prepared, and he appreciated the beauty of the accommodations made for him and the quality of the roads that were built. The labor made available by the Ganda chiefs was one half of a pledge of mutual assistance; but what Bell perceived, and wrote about in his journal, was cheap labor, wonderful productive work that cost practically nothing. Yet the costs for Buganda of kasanvu--Bell's formalization of the labor that had been offered to him by chiefs--were extremely, almost incalculably high.

On May 1, 1909, Bell left Uganda after a Baraza in Kampala. The Ganda Regents and chiefs had arranged a special farewell surprise: as he stepped out of the Sub-commissioner's house, "a big drum was beaten on one of the Kampala hills, and in an instant thousands of torches broke into a blaze." For the entire six-mile journey to the Kampala port, his car passed under an arch made by thousands of Ganda men holding up

[79]Miti, 990.

torches of flaming reeds and shouting "Webale" (thank you).[80] Torch light had represented the power of rulers in Buganda (Chapter 2): the chiefs had made use of the allegiance they had cultivated in their followers and their organizational skills to create a stunning statement of the importance of the Governor and the place of the Baganda as his loyal followers. Neither Bell nor the Government he represented recognized the social contract inherent in the action of the Baganda, and the implementation of kasanvu over the following years entirely undermined the patterns of assistance and obligation that had made that event possible.

The Deterioration of Kusenga

When chiefs began to implement poll tax and kasanvu, they did so following the expectations of kusenga: a chief had to treat his followers reasonably well in order to prevent them from seeking better conditions under a different chief. Abundance of land had increased because of population decline, so that even though the creation of mailo had turned chiefs' followers into tenants, land scarcity was not a factor in Buganda until much later in the century.[81] Chiefs therefore had to offer protection in order to retain followers. In the 1890s, chiefs had protected followers by refusing to provide labor to Europeans

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[80]Bell, 206.

[81] Henry W. West, Land Policy in Buganda, Cambridge: University Press, 1972, 5; Wrigley "Changing Economic Structure," 32-3. Scholars who suggest that mailo gave chiefs a "double hold" over people who were both followers and tenants inaccurately assume that there must have been land scarcity. Actually, the competition for followers became a competition for tenants. See, for example, Michael Twaddle. "The Bakungu chiefs of Buganda under British Colonial Rule, 1900-1930," Journal of African History, 10(1969):309-22, 313.

who had reputations for being excessively harsh.[82] During the negotiation of the Buganda agreement, one of the Regents' first queries had concerned exemptions for sick, old, and disabled people. In 1904 Samwiri Mukasa exempted 3,000 people for age, disease, or physical deformity. The District Commissioner found this number unacceptably high and insisted that all the exempted people report to Kampala to prove their disability; but then when the people came to him, in groups of several hundred, he relented and upheld Mukasa's exemptions.[83]

Attaching followers by treating them well was impossible for chiefs in the new Buganda. Protectorate authorities countered the chiefs' tendency to grant large numbers of tax exemptions by making chiefs' salaries a proportion of the taxes they collected. Chiefs had actually wanted this change, because it conformed with their notion of chiefship. However, calls for incidental labor, poll tax, and especially kasanvu led to such massive migration that many chiefs lacked people to tax. In 1910, Lukiko members made accusations that others had allegedly collected tax from old people and "made sick men go to Kampala."[84] If their complaints about each other are correct, older and less healthy people began to be taxed.

Meeting the incidental labor requirements of the Protectorate, especially as demands intensified during World War I, also undermined the protecting role of chiefs. In 1914 the Saza chief Kasuju wrote to ask the Lukiko whether he should give food to the

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[82]W. J. Ansorge, Under the African Sun, London: Heinemann, 1899, 92.

[83]Samwiri Mukasa, in Twaddle, Mind of Buganda, 59-60.

[84]Kaggwa Papers, CB/59.

contingent of soldiers in his district, or to the land surveyors. In some gombololas of his province, people were eating banana roots, and "this reason is why I want the Lukiko to decide."[85] The same chief wrote reporting that he had only obtained four of the eight men he had been ordered to find for police duties, because "they fear being beaten while under training." He suggested that it would be better for the Kabaka to find someone to train the police there in his Saza. The Lukiko wrote "we have not been pleased about that excuse," and decided to reprimand him.[86] In February 1916, the Saza chief Kitunzi got in trouble for "selecting" men for recruitment into the Army but then failing to provide food for them while they were waiting for transportation which did not arrive.[87] The Saza chief Kago got into a conflict with nine men whom he had "selected for enlistment in the forces." The Medical Officer had disqualified them as unfit, so Kago sent them to the District Commissioner to carry his loads. The men complained that if they were disqualified from the army they were unfit to do any hard work, but the Lukiko agreed with their chief, and told the men to report back to the Kago and then go to carry the D.C.'s loads.[88] In these circumstances, Ganda men experienced few incentives to remain the followers of their chiefs.

A further disruption of the logic of kusenga occurred through a series of actions by Protectorate authorities which had the effect of removing followers from chiefs by

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[85]Lukiko Record, 128, 8/10/1914.

[86]Lukiko Record, 131, 8/10/1914.

[87]Lukiko Record, 189, 10/2/1916.

[88]Lukiko Record, 197, 24/2/1916.

administrative fiat. Chiefship became entirely territorial, rather than a system of overlapping allegiances that was only partially related to where people lived. In Ganda political units of the past, tribute and taxes had flowed through chains of allegiance from tax and tribute payers to their particular superiors, who were not always the tax or tribute superiors of their neighbors. In 1909, however, Protectorate authorities rationalized the varied, complex hierarchies of lower-level chiefs into a uniform system of sazas (provinces), gombololas (districts), and mirukas (parishes).[89] Ganda logic about taxation endured for a few more years: purchasers of land continued to be able to choose which chief they would be under for administrative purposes. Thus in 1912, D.W. Cooper complained, "shambas situated in the center of one division are not ruled by the chief of the division in which they are situated, but arbitrarily placed under the administration of the chief chosen by the owner of the land."[90] Many people also managed to hold chiefships in more than one saza where they owned mailo land until 1917, when the British authorities insisted that people resign all but one official position.[91]

After the District Commissioner pushed territorially-based chiefship through the Lukiko, a procession of chiefs who had lost their followers pleaded for their return. Nsege, the Mumyuka (second most important chief) of Bulemezi, brought a case against his superior, the Kangawo, saying "in the beginning I had many people but when

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[89]R. Cranford Pratt, Buganda and British Overrule, 1900-1955, London: Oxford University Press for the East African Institute of Social Research, 1960, 199.

[90]D.W. Cooper to Provincial Commissioner 2 January 1912, ESA SMP 2349, quoted by Atanda, 16.

[91]Lukiko Record, 270, 18/7/1917.

Gombolola Mutuba IV was deducted off my saza I remained with only 1,847 Poll Tax payers also 40 people of mine were transferred to Mukuma." The Kangawo argued that Nsege had accepted the changes when they were made in front of the Lukiko and the District Commissioner, so "now I don't see any reason to alter this arrangement and I don't accept this alteration." The Lukiko sided with the chief who felt he was wronged, however, and transferred back to him the forty people who had been given to another chief, and 353 from Kikabi "because of his old age," giving Nsege 2,200.[92] People who were third, fourth, or lower in the chiefly hierarchy of a province pleaded to have their inferior chiefs, and the people underneath those chiefs, restored to them.[93] The Lukiko counted, hoarded, and assigned tax-paying followers carefully: when one parish ceased to have enough people to merit a chief, they tried to reassign that chief to another parish.[94] Some of the cases concerned disputes involving people whose authority in the old Buganda had come from a remembered relationship with the Kabaka. Balazi, of Kasebuti village, complained that the Pokino, Saza chief of Buddu, should have made him a Mutuba II chief, because "he was a long time servant of the Kabaka." The Pokino's representative protested that Balazi did not have any people in his area, and "it could not have been fair

[92]Lukiko Record, 132, 10 November 1914.

[93]See, for example, Lukiko Records 135, 2/11/1914; 170, 11/5/1915; 117, 1/9/1914, 118-9, 3/9/1914; 249, 24/3/1917; 258-9, 23/6/1917.

[94]Lukiko Record, 240, 15/2/1917.

to appoint him a chief when Kasiyaine who had already 10 people in his area was also a chief."[95]

Getting people to do all the work demanded by the Protectorate made chiefs unpopular and motivated people to leave the district, but not getting them to do it incurred the displeasure of British officials. The Saza chiefs were caught in the middle, as Stanislaus Mugwanya complained, "treated like a pad (the coil of banana fiber which people placed on their heads to carry loads) which is pressed on both sides."[96] For example, Joswa Kate Mugema, one of the most popular chiefs, was reprimanded, along with his subordinates, for "slackness in the collection of Poll Tax and carriers for the Belgian Carrier Corps."[97] There is some suggestion in the records of the Lukiko and in the Buganda Annual Reports that the Lukiko chiefs solved their dilemma by blaming lower level chiefs, but leaving them in power.[98] As long as the Lukiko was able to control appointment of chiefs, they seem to have appointed men who had been working their way up the chiefly hierarchy before the arrival of the British. They were, in the words of the

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[95]Lukiko Records 247, 24/3/1917.

[96]Mugwanya, the Chief Justice, said this to the Lukiko when it had criticized him for making a heavy fine on a man who had made a European very angry. Lukiko Record, 23, 26/6/1905.

[97]ESA, SMP 1138 F, A46/425, "Buganda: Annual Report for 1915-1916".

[98]In only one case in the Lukiko Record is the dismissal of a chief upheld. Disrespect for the Lukiko, not failure to call forth labor, was the chief's error. Simioni Sebuta, who had been the Mumyuka in Burulu asked to be reinstated. According to Kaggwa, he had been rude to strangers, and he had once threatened to spear a Lukiko representative. Defending himself, Sebuta said that the people had insulted him and he had already been fined Rs. 100 for the offenses. He asked the Kabaka for mercy, and the Kabaka promised to consider it. Lukiko Record, 260, 11/6/1917.

Provincial Commissioner in 1916, "elderly and incompetent and many totally or nearly illiterate, and seem to have been chosen not for any ability but solely as being landowners in the Gombolola district or through having friends at Court."[99]

Lower-level chiefs were required to implement demands for work to be done or labor to be supplied. When they failed, they were reprimanded and fined. Chiefs reported on the inadequacies of their inferiors to their fellow Lukiko members, "Mumyuka (second level subordinate) is lazy in his official duties, does not obey the orders, and when ordered to pay fines does not pay same. When instructed to provide kasanvu he does not move very quickly."[100] The Saza chief of Kyagwe reported that his Sabagabo (third level subordinate) "who is supposed to select men of kasanvu from his area has not cared to do so for at least three years."[101] The Saza chief Mukwenda reported to the Lukiko that all his Gombolola (sub-district) chiefs were doing well except the Sabagabo, who "when ordered to present kasanvu ... only presented 5 compulsory porters and 2 askaris;" the same sub-chief was deficient in his obligations because "all 'bulungi bwansi' [customary communal labor] roads in the area are fully covered with grass."[102]

While higher level chiefs readily criticized their subordinates for failures in supplying labor, it is revealing to note that they were more hesitant to impose fines. Almost all harsh fines seem to have been imposed at the specific request of Europeans, or

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[99]ESA, SMP 1138 F, A46/425, "Buganda: Annual Report for 1915-1916".

[100]Lukiko Record, 141, 1/12/1914.

[101]Lukiko Record, 190, 1/2/1916.

[102]Lukiko Record, 247, 24/3/1917.

in response to a failure at work that was immediately apparent to Europeans. Gombolola and Miruka chiefs got fined for not supplying food to surveyors, for not weeding around government rubber trees (Rs. 5 in 1908), for arresting "permanent people" because they had not done kasanvu (a Rs. 20 fine that was specifically requested by the "very annoyed" D.C. in 1914), for not placing surveyors' beacons (Rs. 20 in 1915), for not being present at the auditing of the Gombolola's books because of attending a funeral (Rs. 15 in 1915), and for taking too long to find people to carry the luggage of three Europeans staying at a rest house (Rs. 25, commuted to Rs. 10 by the Lukiko, in 1916).[103] In contrast, the fine on a chief whose men got into a fight over an insulting comment that should have been taken as a joke was Rs. 5 in 1915.[104] Conflicts arose in the Lukiko over who should pay particular fines: the chief responsible for having the work done, or the deputy who was to execute his orders? Saza chiefs were fined by the Provincial Commissioner, or part of their portion of poll tax was withheld, if their performance was considered "unsatisfactory."[105]

Competition among chiefs for followers in the context of constant Protectorate demands eventually undermined the fundamental premise of the kusenga relationship: that people could leave a chief who made onerous demands. People's freedom of movement was progressively restricted, so that it became quite difficult for people to leave a chief, however badly he treated his followers. An early step in this process was that no one could move out of their kibanja until they had paid their poll tax and busuulu, as Apolo Kaggwa

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[103]Lukiko Record, 131, 102, 142-3, 160, 169, 252.

[104]Lukiko Record, 159, 27/2/1915.

[105]ESA, SMP 1148, Buganda: Annual Reports.

explained to Lukiko members, "because the government is very fond of taxes." At that time, in 1909, a fine of Rs. 2 was added to the Rs. 5 tax if people had not paid on time.[106] In 1914, the Lukiko decided to require people to carry tax receipts with them at all times from November 31 to March 31; anyone who did not have a tax receipt would be arrested. The upheaval of World War I apparently created alarming possibilities: the Lukiko Minutes record a warning to the Saza chiefs "to take special precautions to see that tax money should not decrease because of 'soldiers.'" The Kangawo, head of the Buganda military volunteer corp, was told to find out "whether in the army of soldiers there are some who have not yet paid their taxes. These should be made to pay quickly before going out to fight."[107] Since people could leave districts where the Lukiko's rules were applied strictly in favor of districts whose chiefs were more lenient, a further layer of coercive measures was implemented specifically to restrict people's movement. In February 1916, the Saza chief of Buyaga got permission to follow men to their new homes in Kyagwe to collect the poll tax they had failed to pay before they migrated from his saza.[108] Kezekiya Gamyuka left Busuju when he was selected for kasanvu in 1917, and went to Butambala. However, his former chief found him there and arrested him: the Lukiko gave the former chief, the Kitunzi, permission to try him for moving away.[109] In 1918, the Lukiko passed a

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[106]Lukiko Record, 112, 27/9/1909.

[107]Lukiko Record, 124, 29/9/1914.

[108]Lukiko Record, 197, 24/2/1916.

[109]Lukiko Record, 270, 21/7/1917.

resolution providing that any person leaving Buganda (or leaving his home?) had to have a permit from his gombolola chief.[110]

One cost of colonial labor was that Ganda chiefship deteriorated into something that had the same set of names, but meant something entirely different than it had meant in the past. The premise of kusenga was gone once people were legally constrained from moving. There was no possibility of attaching oneself to a chief, if there was no possibility of leaving that chief. At the same time, the chiefly role of balancing work demanded against the ability of followers to do it had been replaced by a new chiefly role, described by the Provincial Commissioner as "using to the full the powers given them to enforce obedience and respect to the authorities."[111] The new chief was part of a vertical flow of power from the Protectorate down to the people, enforced by fines, imprisonment, and lashes. The orientation of older chiefs towards each other, seeking alliances and assessing the relative strength and attractiveness to followers of their peers, had been entirely effaced. The records of the Lukiko from the first years of colonial rule reveal the independent thought and action which had characterized an earlier generation of Ganda rulers. At that time, the superiors of chiefs begged for their cooperation, they did not assume it. The Lukiko wrote to a chief who had disappointed them, "You should come as soon as you have read this letter with the numbers of people you have evicted from the lake, the numbers are wanted. Because you have been called to come so many times but

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[110]Buell, 581.

[111]ESA SMP 1138, "Buganda: Annual Reports, 1916-1917."

you never came, you must come as soon as you can this time."[112] Stanislaus Mugwanya made a show of his disagreement with the Lukiko in 1908, when, during a quarrel, he refused to attend or even to send a message. His explanation, when he was asked for one, was "he had no pencil at the time to reply."[113] As the colonial order of things became entrenched, the Lukiko did not make requests so politely, and chiefs did not dare to show any reluctance to obey.

Land was the one arena of authority which the Lukiko kept firmly in its grasp throughout the first decades of the new century. During the years in which Ganda chiefs attempted to accommodate themselves to a workable relationship with the Protectorate, the Lukiko was vigilant in its control over land. In 1908 the Governor attempted to make productive land available to foreigners by requisitioning any piece of claims that did not fit into square miles when mailo land was surveyed. The Lukiko responded to this threat by pre-arranging Ganda owners for any land that might be declared surplus in the areas where survey was happening. They also engaged a lawyer who helped them win their case against the Governor's interpretation in front of the Secretary of State. They continued to assign leftover pieces of mailo until the mid 1920s, adjudicated between rival claimants, decided who could or could not sell their mailo, and divided out all the small pieces that became available as the land survey passed through each saza. As colonial involvement in taxation and in the government of Buganda diminished the power of chiefs in some areas,

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[112]Lukiko Record, 76, 11/2/1907.

[113]Lukiko Record, 102, 28/1/1908.

the members of the Lukiko continued to demonstrate their authority through their total control over the allocation of land.[114]

Despite their control over the allocation of land, chiefs lost the esteem of their people when they took actions that seemed uncaring and unjust. Stuck between British and Ganda criteria of chiefly behavior, Ganda chiefs tried various strategies to hold onto their status. Joswa Kate Mugema--chief of an extremely populous saza, who also had considerable traditional authority--was one of a handful who maintained their prestige by treating followers well, and refusing to follow directives which he thought were wrong. Apolo Kaggwa attempted to create a Ganda equivalent of the House of Lords, that would enshrine the special status of the largest land owners. A more common strategy was for chiefs to demonstrate their high position with objects: they rode bicycles (a few followers ran behind to push them up hills), and later motorcycles; they built brick houses with tin roofs, they had clocks and crockery.[115] The Governor's uniform had "a good deal of gold lace on the chest and coat tails," and the dark silk kanzus of the Lukiko members were "trimmed with gold braid."[116] The attempts by chiefs to assert in symbols the position of honor that they had lost in reality were not successful. Displays of wealth might demonstrate a chief's authority, but they could not create authority when chiefs were not behaving properly.

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[114] Twaddle, "Bakungu chiefs," 314.

[115]Hattersley, 149, 95; Buell, 635.

[116]Bell, 99, 114.

Chiefs were scandalized in 1917 when Y. Muwamirembe, a Miruka (parish) chief's assistant, refused to represent his senior in the Saza Lukiko "unless he was paid Rs. 25 per month, also a coat and shoes and a chair." The case had been sent up to Mengo from Bulemezi because "it was too much for that court." The Lukiko decided that the man making the request was unequivocally guilty: "There is no Muluka chief, appointed by his senior who should refuse this order, and never has there been a Muluka chief who demanded salary when appointed by his senior, to represent him." He was fined Rs. 30 and warned that if he ever tried such an act again he would be dismissed from chiefship.[117] In a way Muwamirembe was correct. In 1917 a lower-level chief did need European clothes and furniture to underline his right to call up labor, collect tax, and pass down directives from above. The Lukiko refused to accept these new circumstances of chiefly office, however. They insisted that a lower level chief would serve his superior for the rewards inherent in kusenga.

The Decline of Lineage Networks and the Threat of "Bad Heirs"

The overwhelming demand for labor that transformed the character of relations between chiefs and followers also had profound effects on the extensive, horizontal networks of protection and sustenance of Ganda clans, lineage networks, and local communities. These networks contracted when people had too much work to be able to maintain them, and people's differential success in obtaining exemptions from obligatory labor created a wedge between privileged people and others that had not existed before. Furthermore, the legal and ideological primacy given to individuals over corporate groups

[117]Lukiko Record, 218-9,27/4/1916.

by colonial authorities and missionaries deeply threatened the ability of clans and lineage networks to take care of their people.

At the turn of the century, Baganda had conceptualized people as parts of groups and not as individuals. A family, lineage, or community was responsible for the actions of its members: when a woman was stripped of her garments on a road and no one from the area came to her aid, a collective fine was imposed on the neighbors.[118] Access to resources to the means of maintaining life, such as land and building materials, had to be available to all who needed them: the Lukiko found it difficult, and then impossible, to decide whether people could be allowed to sell stone and sand which other people needed from land that they owned.[119] Membership in a group provided protection from death or enslavement--students of Christianity wanted to know how Christ could have been put to death as a sacrifice when his parents were known?[120] When Magazi Omwanga was fined Rs. 100 for not providing food to a European as quickly as he had wanted, he failed to pay--which was not surprising because everyone in the Lukiko agreed that the fine was excessively heavy. However, Mugwanya had already paid in his stead, so Magazi "was handed to S. Senkezi in the name of Walusimbi and charged with the duty of finding the Rs. 100 from among the members of the clan."[121]

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[118]Lukiko Record, 28/39 (two page numbers in text), 10/7/1905.

[119]Lukiko Record, 114, 4/1914.

[120]Hattersley, 18.

[121]Lukiko Record, 13, 5/6/1905.

An early, powerful failure of clan and lineage networks had to do with food. The fundamental responsibility of clan members to provide hospitality to travellers who shared their clan names became impossible with the massive movement of people to work for tax money or in kasanvu. In nineteenth century Buganda, daily food, in the form of matoke bananas, could not be purchased. No establishment where people lived was without a banana garden. Chiefs sent representatives to maintain banana gardens near the lake (so their people would have food when they went to fish), or on main roads where the chief would break a journey to the capital.[122] Travellers who were not making a journey on behalf of the Kabaka found food and shelter with someone in a local community who shared their clan name; according to a Ganda saying, "kinship is eating."[123] This system broke down in the 1890s when hundreds, then thousands of workers descended on Entebbe: their clan relatives did not have enough food.

People who went to work in Entebbe suffered terribly from hunger: it was said that some died on returning home.[124] The Protectorate Government offered to feed workers maize flour, but people did not want to eat it and did not want to work longer in order to pay for food. In 1907 the Lukiko designated seven villages "that will sell foods and

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[122]Sir Frederick Treves, Uganda for a Holiday, London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1910, p. 213, Commission, 401.

[123]Christine Obbo., "Food Sharing During Food Crisis: Case Studies from Uganda and Ciskei," Food Systems in Central and Southern Africa, Johan Pottier, ed., London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1985, 265-279, 265. A. Ndawula interview, 24/4/1995. Mair says that people working for the Kabaka in the capital "begged" for food, unless relatives sent it to them; Mair, 197.

[124]Atanda, 7. See also Hattersley, 115-6.

matoke to Entebbe," but having the correct food for sale did not cause people to shift their perception that eating matoke ought not to involve money.[125] As long as Baganda people had to leave their homes to work on government projects, they suffered for lack of food. Although specific reference to clan obligations regarding feeding is absent from archival records, clan members did have the obligation to feed their relatives, the number of people needing food at colonial work sites would have surpassed the capacity of those living nearby to supply hospitality, and the hunger of workers is well documented. The experience of being a laborer away from home, needing food, and not being able to find it with clan relatives must have been a constant disappointments that undermined people's confidence in clans and lineages.

The onerous burden of kasanvu labor led to a more permanent rupture in clan and community networks. Exemptions from performing kasanvu were seen as valid for luwalo also. Therefore, all the people who had found ways to escape from kasanvu no longer had to participate in luwalo, communal work for "the good of the country." Chiefs complained in 1910 that they were losing control of labor because of the exemptions obtained by "servants and employees."[126] While Hattersley had described thousands of people working together in 1907, by 1919 chiefs with a tax-paying population of 1000 might be able to find no more than two or three volunteers for luwalo work.[127] The large number of exemptions granted by chiefs meant that the same people--those with the least influence,

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[125]Lukiko Record, 88, 16/9/1907.

[126]ESA, A46/421, SMP 1138 "Buganda Annual Reports, 1909-1910."

[127]ESA SMP 1148, "Buganda: Annual Report 1919-1920."

the least income, and the fewest resources--were called up for communal labor over and over again, beyond the limit of one month per year.[128] This caused an ever-widening gap between Ganda with and without access to resources, as those required to do more than their share of forced labor fell further behind their relatives and neighbors.

People who already had privileged access to education were the ones who were able to get exemptions from kasanvu and luwalo. In theory, exemptions were granted to people in "permanent employment," including self-employed people practicing essential trades. In practice, however, exemptions went to people employed by Europeans, or people who had skills learned in mission schools: clerks, carpenters, tailors and printers.[129] People skilled in Ganda forms of manufacture were not exempted in labor drafts. Yakobo Tabula, a bed-maker, and ten men who were the Kabaka's blacksmiths challenged their selection for the military, because they felt their work entitled them to exemptions. The blacksmiths were excused, with the admonition that "they will work even harder," but the bed-maker was enlisted.[130] The insidious, community-dividing aspect of poll tax labor and kasanvu (and luwalo after it lost its character of a whole group effort) was that the work would only get done if some people remained too poor to be able to pay tax instead. The

[128]Hansen, 182-3.

[129]Powesland 1957, 27.

[130]Lukiko Record, 161, 9/3/1915; 188, 8/1/1916.

District Commissioner for Kampala in 1910 put this bluntly: "without this control [by chiefs over labor] many Bakopi would be too rich from other sources to need to work."[131]

The creation of a group of people obliged to do more than their share of forced labor led to the class differences which became so obvious and which concerned observers in the 1920s and 1930s. The wide gap that emerged between rich and poor Baganda was not primarily a consequence of land owners extracting high tithes in the form of cotton from their tenants. On the contrary, Baganda of all levels of resources used the possibilities of growing cotton to their own advantage. The people who had to do everyone's forced labor suffered all the loss of health and opportunities to grow their own cash crops that kasanvu involved; the people who obtained exemptions benefitted doubly from the advantages that gave them the exemptions in the first place.

The multiplication of demands on people's productive capacities had another subtle but corrosive effect on clan and lineage networks: the more new labor people had to do, the less time and energy they had to invest in maintaining clan and lineage networks. When people gathered together for feasts and ceremonies to observe birth, birth of twins, naming, children's growth, marriage, death, and succession, they were solidifying the connections among people in concrete as well as spiritual ways. The people who one met at ceremonies were the people one could rely on in difficulties. Mair observed that only funeral and succession ceremonies continued to be fully observed in 1931: some ceremonies had been replaced by Christian rituals for baptism and marriage, while others

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[131]ESA, SMP 1148, A46/422, Annual Report for Kampala District, 1910-1911".

had fallen into disuse because people did not have the time or financial resources to observe them.[132] One of the lapsed ceremonies, performed three days after the birth of a child, was called "to protect all the people of the clan."[133] When lineage networks stopped meeting together, and communities stopped celebrating life events, networks of mutual assistance got weaker. One evidence of this is the difficulty people experienced in re-building their homes: instead of being rebuilt in a day by a work party, by 1930 a building often stood half finished for months, as people tried to finish it without any outside assistance.[134] Foreigners in Buganda actively discouraged clan and lineage ceremonies. They saw clan ritual as indulgence in drinking, eating, and dancing: "the indolent life led by all Africans" was one reason given by the Uganda Chamber of Commerce for labor shortages.[135] What foreigners could not see were the bonds of social security being forged in those events.

At the same time that new amounts and forms of work destabilized Ganda ways of maintaining connections, Christianity and Islam offered alternative explanations of morality that justified a neglect of clan and family obligations. Partly, this was directly the effect of turn-of-the-century European Protestant thinking regarding spiritual success. Lucy Mair regretted, in 1934, that mission education emphasized too much "the advantages to the individual of commercializing his possessions," and did not encourage

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[132]Mair, 44, 50, 56, 57, 59, 65. Tantala.

[133]Mair, 43.

[134]Mair, 126.

[135]A.E. Bertie-Smith, Hattersley, 115.

"the growth of a spirit of corporate loyalty" to the village.[136] A more fundamental challenge was that people's strong allegiances to new religions came into direct conflict with their allegiances to clan and lineage. After their relatives had failed to protect them during some of the most devastating battles of the late nineteenth century, Moslems sang "those who expect clan protection are the ones whose skulls are on the road."[137] Competition between Catholics and Protestants led to divisions between family members. A Catholic father wrote to his son who had become Protestant while attending Mengo High School, "let me congratulate you, my son, thanking you for leaving me in the fire. I am your father, and you my son ran away...it had been better that both of us should enter into the fire together...I beseech you come not at all to my burial, I am not your father."[138]

Legal challenges added to the assault on clan and lineage networks in the early twentieth century. Poll tax had to be paid by individuals, and Protectorate law attempted to make it impossible to extend fines or punishments from the accused person to his relatives. Women's rights to purchase and inherit land, promoted by missionaries, were strongly contested by lineage networks. When women owned land, it was lost to the lineage and clan, because women handed it on to their children, who belonged to the lineages of their fathers. Clan elders faced the problem of what to do about women owning land when men failed to have male children. In 1914 the Book of Inheritance notes indecision about a particular case:

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[136]Mair, 276.

[137]Kiwanuka, 233.

[138]Hattersley, 185-6.

> And he had fathered two children, only girls. The clan leaders chose this heir of their clan [a male relative]. About this issue, the members of the Lukiiko saw that girl children ought to share the land of their father. This matter caused a disagreement among the members of the Lukiiko, that is why it is ordered to put it with what will be discussed in April 1915. Whether it is appropriate for girls to share in things of inheritance.[139]

Clan elders in a lineages sometimes fought the possibility of a female heir by proposing male heirs who they claimed were the secret, hitherto unknown children of the deceased.[140]

A greater threat to clan and lineage networks were "bad heirs." Since individuals had legal protections under British law and lineage networks did not, an heir who received a position and property as the custodian of the assets of lineage might choose instead to see that property as his alone. Some of the generation of sons of chiefs proved to be ill-equipped to assume the role of heirs to their fathers. They had grown up in a time of cotton wealth, they had received the anti-clan bias of mission education, and the "new" Buganda did not offer them the avenues of developing leadership that had been available to their fathers. Older Baganda worried that men who had become adults in the 1920s did not know how to behave. In a meeting of the Board of Governors of Budo College, Hamu Mukasa claimed that it was young heirs, and not old people, who failed to pay their contributions.[141] Jemusi Miti concluded his history of Buganda with the observation that

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[139]Ekitabo kya Obusika, Volume II.

[140]Lukiko Record, 180-2, 9/9/1915; 207, 10/3/1916.

[141]Africana Collection, Makerere University Library, Kabali Papers Box x, Minutes of Meeting of Budo Board of Governors, 9/3/1929.

"under the new law the old Kiganda filial reverence seemed to lose somewhat of its former grip."[142]

Conflicts between the generation that had survived the crisis of the late 19th century and forged the new Buganda and their children began before the moment of succession. Samwiri Mukasa the Kangawo wrote to his sons:

> One of you has deserted his job of being a Muluka chief and serving his Kabaka and country and has joined the company of people who feed him on fattened animals and stand intoxicating drinks for him. It is lucky of your generation that when brothers see such a thing of one of them, they never try to talk it over with him so that he improves, but flatter him and he is pleased with them. It is like a calabash with holes in the bottom, nobody can put their beer in it; nobody trusts him any longer."[143]

The desperation Mukasa and his generation felt is apparent in his conclusion, "you people have every now and then shown your disobedience to men and have actually told me that you are your own fathers and are not obliged to obey anybody. True, the way you have treated me is not as from a son to a father." Joswa Kate Mugema's son attempted to lease butaka land, with graves on it, to a European.[144] Apolo Kaggwa's son Sepereya Kadamamukasa, who had been sent to England to school, got a Gayaza Girl's student pregnant and ran up huge bills for liquor. Kaggwa made provisions in his will reflecting his fears regarding succession, which specified what should happen "if the head of the butaka

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[142]Miti, 1889. Audrey Richards observes that the possibility of inheriting mailo land, and the increased value of land because of cash crops, strengthened the relationship of fathers and children at the expense of clan connections, The Changing Structure of a Ganda Village. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1966, 24-5.

[143] Africana Collection, Makerere University Library, Ezeri Kabali Papers, AR KA 2/2, File F (Samwiri Mukasa), Box 2.

[144] SMP 6902, Mugema to Chief Secretary, 22/8/1924.

begins to go mad, making debts causing the sale of the butaka, and "if the head of the Butaka has sold the land in secret and has already eaten the money." In that case, according to Kaggwa, whoever had bought the land would be forced to return it and would lose his money, "because he had bought land which was not supposed to be sold," and the Lukiko would appoint a new heir.[145] Kaggwa's worst fears were realized when his heirs sold his massive estates, and ate up his wealth in legal suits against each other. The searing and bitter conflicts over inheritance that began to arise in the 1920s and 1930s, in which the prerogatives of lineage networks were pitted against the legal rights of "bad heirs" who acted as though their inheritance was their own individual property, were the inevitable consequence of the direct and indirect attacks on the social institutions of clan and lineage networks.

Innovations to Meet the Responsibilities of Chiefs and Lineage Networks

In the half a generation that followed the introduction of poll tax, forced labor, and cultivation of cotton for cash, the institution of chiefship was transformed and clan and lineage networks were severely strained. Ganda ways of perceiving the world and organizing productive activity, however, demonstrated remarkable resilience. One of the first economic interventions of the colonial government had been to try to replace cowrie currency with rupees and pice. "Several million" cowrie shells were burnt, and the lime was used in the building of the District Commissioner's house in Kampala, which became

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[145]Kaggwa papers, AR KA 43/52, "The Will Which Concerns Butaka Mailo, How it Should Remain," 16/12/1920.

known as "enyumba y'ensimbi"--the house of money.[146] People continued to use cowries, however; Hattersley described being unable to make purchases when he offered pice instead of cowries in 1907. Thirty years after the initial attempt to eliminate it, cowrie currency was still in use.[147]

Baganda also recreated the logic of kusenga on a smaller scale, by turning ownership of land into a form of chiefship. The Lukiko granted land owners a tribute of Rs. 2 or one month's labor, indicating in the language of exchange that tenants were the followers of land owners.[148] More importantly, the Lukiko determined that mailo owners could not give produce or money to the chief of the area in which their land was located. This meant, in symbolic terms, that the mailo owner had no superior.[149] Mailo owners were not obliged to perform kasanvu or luwalo, nor could they be compelled by chiefs answerable to Kampala to "volunteer" for any other work. Thousands of Baganda used profits from wage labor or cotton to buy plots of "10, 20, or 30" acres, in order to escape excessive labor demands.[150] Land purchase, according to the contemporary social critic Daudi Basudde, enabled people "to free themselves from the chiefs' pernicious outside

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[146]Cook, 111.

[147] Hattersley, 42; Mair, 144.

[148]Chapter 4, Hansen, 184.

[149]Land Law of 1908, Hansen, 186.

[150]Annual Report of the Department of Land and Survey, para s 71-73, quoted in Powesland 1954, 35. The notoriously conservative Land and Survey Department considered that the goal was "freedom from a landlord's exactions", but, as we have seen, 1/5 or 1/6 of the obligations of a tenant was to his landlord.

influences they adopted and brought to bear on the men who are living on their land."[151] On their land, mailo owners became chiefs by allocating plots to tenants, and hiring immigrant laborers to grow cotton for them, in return for food and a place to live. For decades, Ganda cotton growers were able to attract more labor than plantations, ginneries, and Government Departments because the Baganda offered terms that were a variation on kusenga. Immigrants attached to Ganda households followed a work rhythm that was familiar, ate the same kind of food as their employer, and might sit in his or her doorway, participating in conversation with visitors.[152] Baganda land owners were so successful in maintaining non-commodified relationships with immigrant workers that the Protectorate Government was forced to admonish European employers "to demonstrate a keen human interest in the welfare of their employees."[153]

Even though the enactment of community that had come from hundreds of people assembling to work together on community projects was irreparably undermined by kasanvu, Ganda networks of community continued to be valuable for people. Despite the real threat that "bad heirs" might ruin the inheritance of a lineage, clan members found new ways to use the broad range of resources that clans and lineage networks made

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[151]Daudi Basudde, Uganda Herald, 17, vi, 21, quoted in Wrigley, 52.

[152]Powesland, Economic Policy, 11, 38-9; Audrey I. Richards, "Methods of Settlement in Buganda", in Economic Development and Tribal Change, Audrey I. Richards, ed., Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons for the East African Institute of Social Research, 1954, 121.

[153]Powesland, 43, 44, 46. If Uganda had not had several Governors who strongly advocated peasant production and an Agricultural Officer who had strong radical leanings, the outcome might have been very different. Wrigley, 31.

available to people. Clan members who had means paid for the education of promising young relatives, and people placed their children in the homes of relatives where they would have access to better education.[154] Having clan relatives in positions in the chiefly hierarchy was also useful, and clan members could be expected to contribute: when Musa Serwajokwota was appointed to a chiefship, for example, he was not allowed to take it up because he owed a debt of Rs. 70. The Lukiko announced "if these rupees find someone to pay them, he will be allowed to receive the office."[155] Identifying strangers as clan relatives through recognition of their names ceased to be a means of finding hospitality, but a new strategy of mutual assistance arose when rural members of lineage networks began to supply food to urban members, especially in difficult times.[156]

In 1898, some of the men who had fled Mengo to fight alongside Kabaka Mwanga against the British warned Apolo Kaggwa that his new allies would ask of him more than he might want to give. Comparing the European to the Ganda war god Nende, they wrote, "the Kampala European dedicates sacrifices as well as god Nende does."[157] Kaggwa and the other Protestant and Catholic chiefs who had aligned with the Europeans were inclined to disagree. As colonial interference intensified, however, Baganda who did not fight might have begun to see wisdom in that assessment. There were limits to the sacrifices

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[154]Hattersley, 167. Mair, 63-4.

[155]Lukiko Record, 124, 29/9/1914.

[156]Obbo, 270, 277.

[157]Kaggwa, Basekabaka bya Buganda, Typescript in Africana Collection, Makerere University Library, 287.

Baganda were willing to make to the Kampala European. In 1908, the Lukiko had found men to be carpentry and brick-making apprentices in Entebbe at the request of the Sub-Commissioner, but in 1914, the Lukiko objected to a similar request, explaining "this is a very difficult matter under the stated agreement between the employer and the employees."[158] In 1916, specific chiefs began to object to calls for labor, and to request that "the Lukiko consider the matter over again."[159] After World War I, the colonial administration attempted to raise poll tax to Rs. 7.50, but the Lukiko succeeded in convincing the Colonial Office that it had the power to veto the increase.[160]

In 1919, eleven chiefs and one of the three ministers wrote to the Governor about the problems caused by kasanvu. They claimed that it was leading to continual discontent and causing migration. They said "weak people and those...nearing old age" were forced to do most of the labor, and people who performed kasanvu were despised. Kasanvu meant, they said, that freedom was only for chiefs. The only resolution was to abolish the system.[161] In 1921, all the chiefs in the Lukiko determined that their role in calling out labor for the colonial power was untenable and informed Entebbe that the Lukiko was abolishing labor for the Protectorate. They stated, "After the most careful consideration, the Lukiko have decided unanimously that they do not desire kasanvu of any kind...to exist in Buganda...we pray you inform the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the Full

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[158]Lukiko Record, 102, 8/4/1908; 134, 24/10/1914.

[159]Lukiko Record, 204, 11/3/1916.

[160]Hansen, 178.

[161]ESA SMP 1371 (O.S.)\114, quoted in Powesland, Economic Policy, 27.

Lukiko has finally decided to do away with kasanvu as from 31st December, 1921, as it is no longer fitting that it should be enforced."[162] Kasanvu was abolished in January, 1922, but its consequnces endured. The intense labor demands of the first twenty years of colonial rule permanently altered the relationship of chiefs and followers, and of clan, lineage and community members with each other.

Conclusion

Buganda changed in powerfully visible ways between 1900 and 1920, but neither the fact of a colonial presence nor the establishment of a cash economy can explain these changes, because wage opportunities, money, consumer goods, and private property in land gave Ganda men and women new ways of obtaining the prestige and power inherent in control over other people that had been a goal of work in the past. Baganda and other observers have explained the changes in Buganda as "a loosening of bonds" or the emergence of "greedy chiefs" and "kulak farmers." These descriptions are not adequate because they do not begin on the inside of Ganda social institutions that were changing. I have argued in this chapter that excessive demands on people's labor wore down the social fabric in Buganda because chiefs and clans could not do for people what they had always done. Chiefs were supposed to protect their followers, but in the new Buganda in which ultimate decisions were made outside the Ganda hierarchy of power, chiefs were forced to call their people to work even when it undermined people's ability to take care of

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[162]ESA SMP 5116 (O.S.)/100a, quoted, Powesland 1957, 32. Through a despatch issued by the Colonial Secretary, compulsory labor in the colonies was ended on 1 January, 1922.

themselves at home. One of the fundamental functions of extended clan networks was providing for clan members when they traveled, but it was impossible for members of a clan to feed thousands of their fellow clansmen when they arrived to work in Entebbe, passed along a main road, or gathered at the site of some other colonial work project. Exemptions from the labor demands, granted to some people but not to others, created a divide in Ganda society that had not existed previously. The new demands for labor meant people no longer had time to put labor into maintaining connections with lineage networks and local communities. When people started to do kasanvu, in addition to the month of work required for tax, on top of work for the chief and for the king, communal building parties and lineage gatherings decreased. The institutions of chiefship and clan changed in subtle but important ways. The multiple connections that had been cultivated by people--horizontal ones between lineage and clan relatives and between various authority figures with different kinds of power, and vertical ones between people and the leaders to whom they paid tribute in labor and goods--had been replaced by coercive, uniform links in a vertical hierarchy of power.

CHAPTER SIX
THE ORDER OF MILES ON TRIAL

Twenty years after Ganda chiefs laid out a new order of power in Buganda in the shape of individually owned land, another group of Ganda leaders put the mailo order of things on trial, charging that miles had ruined the good customs of Buganda. As cash, tax, forced labor and fines eroded the protective and sustaining capacities of chiefs and lineage networks, these Ganda leaders demanded a reallocation of land and power, a reform of relations between rulers and followers, and an integration of Ganda forms of authority with the forms of "these Europeanized times." Argued from 1921 to 1926 in front of the Kabaka, the Lukiko, and British officials in Uganda and England, the case against mailo offers an unusually well-documented look at the ideas of Africans who experienced the coming of colonial rule as adults, and insisted that things ought to have been done differently.

The Baganda who made the case against mailo have been misunderstood from the beginning: the only part of their comprehensive critique which got a direct response was their request for the return of butaka (clan lands). The complainants were not only bataka (clan elders), but also royal women and royal men, spirit mediums, and people who had had institutionalized remembered relationships with the Kabaka; in other words, all the kinds of people who had had authority in pre-colonial Buganda. They called for a

restoration of their status and of Ganda forms of exercising power; they were able to do this before a colonial Commission of Enquiry only because their way of speaking about power was entirely incomprehensible to their British colonial listeners. In order to unfold the full implications of the 1920s case against mailo from "the butaka controversy" as it has been remembered, it is necessary to pay attention to the choices Ganda thinkers made in communicating their ideas to British audiences, and the consequences of those choices.

As the case moved from the Kabaka's court to colonial venues, the complainants began to exclude other issues and speak only about lost burial grounds. While this strategy gained the sympathy of their hearers, it required a simplification of their arguments and a misrepresentation of the social positions that had been occupied by the people making the complaint. A complex conflict over power with diverse participants became, in terms that made sense to colonial observers, a fight between clan elders who had lost land and appointed chiefs who had taken land. At the time, Baganda who testified in the case might have seen the gap between who they were and who they said they were (for example, a spirit medium describing himself as a clan elder) as an obvious but useful distortion. Later generations and historians, however, have perceived the strategic, over-simplified positions of bataka versus bakungu as an accurate representation of social groups and conflicts in the Buganda past. It is poignant and ironic that in their effort to restore the "good customs of Buganda" the people who brought the case against mailo took a stance which helped to efface even the memory of the multiple forms of power they sought to defend.

This chapter and the following one seek to explicate the case against mailo and to explore the difficulties faced by participants in attempting to negotiate two fundamentally different discourses of power. Chapter Six describes the leading participants, and explains the logic of the case in Ganda terms. By asking for a re-allocation of land, supporters of the Kabaka gave the young king an opportunity to wrest back power that had been taken by the Katikirro. Daudi Chwa's inability to exercise a Kabaka's prerogative to redistribute land led to a second stage of the trial, when Baganda asked the British Protectorate to help them restore the power of the Kabaka and other Ganda authorities. The chapter then documents the different meanings of "butaka" perceived by Ganda and British participants in the case, and considers how a complaint against new forms of power could be perceived as unthreatening by British colonial authorities. Chapter Seven presents the arguments made in the case, and shows how the polarized arguments made about mailo in the 1920s have influenced the perceptions of historians of Buganda since that time.

The Complainants and the Logic of their Case

The case against mailo coalesced the forces in Ganda society usually involved in a dynastic struggle, at the appropriate moment for confirming the authority of Kabaka Daudi Chwa, who had reached his majority in 1914. In earlier generations the struggle over power at the beginning of a reign had taken the form of fighting between rival princes and the coalitions of royal women, chiefs, and clan allies who supported each of them. A generation after the thorough collapse of authority in the late nineteenth century, the political conflict inherent in the beginning of a new reign took the shape of a case

(omusango) brought by supporters of royal power against the chiefs who had taken over the role of the Kabaka in the years that they were his Regents.

The people who assembled to make the case against mailo were men and women, royals and peasants, elder statesmen from pre-colonial Buganda and their school-educated sons. Two had been saza chiefs for more than twenty years each. Some held the highest possible positions for Africans in the Protectorate hierarchy, others had had little contact with foreigners. Some had been granted large estates of mailo, some had lost their land and been reduced to doing menial labor service for new chiefs. They were Protestants, Catholics, and Malakites, and a few had been important spirit mediums.[1] Recognizing the broad range of interests they represented and their varied experiences of British influence in Buganda, it is necessary to revise the perception that 'the Bataka Federation' were sentimental clan elders who had not adapted to new realities, joined by a haphazard assortment of disgruntled young people.[2]

James Miti was the highest ranking employee of the Protectorate to participate in the case against mailo, and he served as its public representative whenever he was able to

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[1]My evidence for this assertion, explored below, comes primarily from a careful reading of testimony before the Bataka Land Commission, and also correspondence in ESA SMP 6902. Guggu, the principal medium of the Lubaale Mukasa spoke before the Commission of Enquiry, and the medium Guludene wrote to the Governor asking for the return of his land.

[2]Low, Twaddle, Rowe, et al. In East African Rebels: A Study of Some Independent Churches, F. B. Welbourn has pointed out the personal links between participants in the Bataka Federation and later political movements in Buganda; my argument is that the Baganda who brought the case against mailo proposed alternatives to Buganda government in the 1920s that incorporated Ganda notions but were not reactionary. Welbourn, East African Rebels (London, SCM Press, 1961), 28.

be present in Buganda. He was head of the Kasimba clan and had been a rising Protestant chief when he was chosen to consolidate British/Ganda control over Bunyoro with George Wilson in 1901. He had tried to return to Buganda to take up the Saza chiefship for which he was the logical choice, but was forced to remain at his post as Katikiro to the Omukama of Bunyoro. Miti, along with Wilson, designed and implemented the policy of using Ganda chiefly titles in the administration of other native kingdoms. Miti represented the quintessential success of the Ganda/British partnership: he governed effectively, devoted himself to the Church of Uganda, and entertained the members of European royalty who travelled to western Uganda on hunting safaris. He used his knowledge of British colonial culture and his status within it to position the mailo complainants as loyal Protectorate citizens: asking the Bishop of Uganda to attend a "mother service" for the Bataka case, and asking for permission for the Bataka to congratulate the Governor on his safe return.[3] His visible participation may have been part of what motivated Protectorate Officials to take the case against mailo seriously.[4]

Miti had lost his clan's butaka land in a case that stunned people because of its bizarre injustice. Miti left his clan land in 1893 at the time when Catholics moved into Kyagwe, and Stanislaus Mugwanya, the Catholic Katikirro, assigned the land to one Namawanja, who claimed to be a member of the proper siga of the Kasimba clan. But Namawanja was not actually a person who had the right within the clan to hold the butaka

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[3]Miti, 1075.

[4] ESA, SMP 6902, Miti to Kabaka, 4/3/1922, suggests that Kaggwa may have tried to delay hearings of the case so that Miti would not be able to be present to lend his prestige.

land, and Miti succeeded between 1894 and 1896 in obtaining the land back from Kabaka Mwanga. The case was brought up in front of the Lukiko, and Miti won again, but nothing was done to cause the decision in his favor to be reflected in documents at the Land Registry Office. In 1909, the case was brought up for a third time, because (according to Miti), the Catholic Regent Mugwanya was insulted at the treatment he was receiving from Apolo Kaggwa, and wanted to take revenge on a Protestant.[5] This time, Namawanja said that because the certificates had been made out in his name, the land was his. Miti argued that the Kabaka had decided in his favor, the Lukiko had decided in his favor, and so had the High Court. Public opinion was with Miti: the land had been assigned to be the clan butaka, Miti was the mutaka of the clan, and the land was morally his. If the Lukiko invalidated the land certificates for Miti's butaka, however, everyone's certificates might be called into question. In the end, after one whole month of deliberation, the Lukiko came to the conclusion that the Kasimba clan land belonged to the person whose name was written on the certificate, even though the Kabaka, the Lukiko, and the clan agreed that the certificate was wrong. Miti explained to the Commission of Enquiry that "on the strength of my own grievances and in conjunction with the grievances of my fellow butaka we assembled together and decided to bring up our case together."[6]

Daudi Basudde was one of the most articulate spokesmen for the case against mailo: he used his newspapers Sekanyolya and Matalisi to promote it, and his letter to the

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[5]Miti, 781, 993.

[6]Commission, Jemusi Miti, 500.

English language Uganda Herald attracted the attention of then Secretary of State for the Colonies Winston Churchill.[7] Protectorate officials described Basudde as someone whose education and "modern thinking" made him frustrated with the Buganda old guard like Apolo Kaggwa, but Basudde's role as a social critic was much more complex. He was the grand-nephew of Gabulieri Mujasi, who had amassed considerable personal power as an ekitongole chief during Mwanga's first short reign, had gained a reputation as bellicose during the late nineteenth century upheavals, and led Mwanga's revolt against the British in 1897. Basudde's father Antoni Muyimba had joined his uncle Gabulieri Mujasi fighting on Mwanga's side, and consequently lost twelve square miles of mailo. From exile, Muyimba bought a large amount of land in Buddu through a third party, which probably financed Basudde's education and underwrote his publications. Muyimba was deported from Bukoba and imprisoned during World War 1 for allegedly supplying information to the Germans.[8]

Basudde was the cultural translator for the case against mailo. He did not claim to be a mutaka or ask for the return of lost land, a circumstance which caused his opponents to suggest he was participating for personal gain. The chiefs leading the bataka case were incensed by this attack; Mugema called Basudde "my son" and the Kangao, Samwiri Mukasa asked why "this young boy" was being questioned instead of the important men.[9]

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[7] ESA, SMP 6902, 20/4/24, Governor Archer to Secretary of State, page 9.

[8]Chapter 3, also Twaddle, 73, 82; and Welbourn, 21-22, note 218.

[9]Commission, 488-491. Basudde demonstrated his commitment to the case by surrendering his own (small) amount of mailo to the Kabaka; he was considered to be genuinely interested in reform by his contemporaries. Welbourn, 21-22, note 218.

Basudde's deft use of English and public relations skills struck Protectorate officers as something quite new; but he was actually the third generation in his family to protest against the forms of power that developed in Buganda with the coming of the British.

The leaders of the case against mailo included a range of people who defy classification in neat dichotomies of traditional or modern, collaborators or resisters, old or young. One was the Private Secretary to the Kabaka, Shem Spire Mukasa, the well-educated son of the Kangao, the Saza chief of Bulemezi. When Shem Spire compared the socially destructive selfishness of the Regents to "the Kaiser's game" in Europe, his fellow members of the Bataka Community stopped the proceedings of the Commission to ask for translation into Luganda.[10] His father, Samwiri Mukasa was one of the most prominent Christian chiefs in Buganda. As Kangao and acting Katikiro, Samwiri Mukasa had actually made some of the mailo allocation decisions while Kaggwa was out of Buganda in 1902, but in the case against mailo his testimony benefitted the complainants rather than the Regents.[11] Serwano Kulubya, another school educated young man and one of the secretaries of the Bataka association, became a Miruka chief in 1923 and a Gombolola chief in 1924.[12] He was the official translator for the Commission of Enquiry. Yoda Musa

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[10]From this Chief down to the less important Chiefs all did the same. Just as Chief Katikiro did so did his good friend Hamu Mukasa follow his footsteps. And just as Chief Mugwanya did so did our brother Yakobo Musajalumbwa. So all the other Chiefs were compelled to join in this game. It was a great game to them, but on the side of the Bataka it was one which ruined our lives. It was a game of so great importance in our country just like the game Emperor Kaiser played in Europe." Commission, 381-382.

[11]Commission, Samwiri Mukasa, 490-1.

[12]ESA, SMP 6902, 8/1/1925, Sturrock to Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Musoke, on the other hand, was a mituba clan leader who communicated with the Provincial Commissioner and Governor in long eloquent letters in Luganda legalese that overwhelmed the Protectorate's translators. Malaki Musajakawa testified in the case and also signed several important communications: he was a charismatic spiritual leader who attracted so many followers to Mugema's breakaway church (see below) that its popular name became Bamalaki, the people of Malaki.[13]

The most important instigator of the case against mailo, whose prestige and structural position in Buganda proved the great importance of the case, was Joswa Kate Mugema. He was head of the Monkey clan, saza chief of Busiro, and the person who had had the most independent authority in relation to the Kabaka. The Mugema was "Father of the Kabaka," and "Katikirro" of all the Kabakas of the past, whose tombs and shrines were in Busiro. His unique authority in relation to the Kabaka was marked in several ways. His house in the Kibuga, like the Queen Mother's, had to be on a separate hill from that of the Kabaka, across a stream of flowing water. He greeted the Kabaka standing, and did not eat anything cooked in the King's enclosure.[14] The Mugema had provided items essential to the installation of kings, such as the drum Mujaguzo, the royal rug and stool, and he performed essential aspects of the installation ritual, including administering an oath and

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[13]Musajakawa had an intensity reminiscent of Ganda spirit mediums of earlier generations. Imprisoned for refusing to pay a tax to fund local medical services in 1921, he refused to eat prison food or wear prison clothes. He died of self-starvation nine days after his deportation from Buganda in 1929, after a riot caused by Malakite refusal to be vaccinated. Miti, 1842-7.

[14]Roscoe, 253.

introducing the Kabaka to Buganda.[15] If a Mugema had been unwilling to bring out the Mujaguzo, the installation of a new Kabaka would have been impossible. The power of the Mugema in the old Buganda is suggested by the fact that two of his sub-chiefs "had power and influence compared with that of the county (saza) chiefs."[16]

Joswa Kate exercised his responsibility as guardian of the power of Kabakas from the beginning of British involvement in Buganda. He had the nickname "Semusota" (snake) because he had put Kabaka Mwanga in an impossible position in 1897 when he refused to accept the "East and Central Africa Medal" which Queen Victoria wanted to bestow on a few high ranking Baganda.[17] Mwanga could not force the Mugema to accept the award from the Queen, thus maintaining the fiction that all the Baganda approved of British overrule, because the Mugema was his ritual parent.[18] Mugema had refused to sign the Buganda Agreement in 1900; he was the only saza chief to take this stance. Mugema rejected European medicine, claiming that to use it demonstrated lack of faith in God. Although Mugema explained his assertive rejection of European medicine in Biblical terms, it harmonized with his role of protecting the Kabakaship and, by extension, Ganda forms of knowledge. Mugema was an effective chief, appreciated by both his people and British administrators, with a reputation for generosity and selflessness.[19] He made

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[15]Roscoe, 197.

[16]Apolo Kaggwa, Ekitabo Kya Ebika, quoted in Welbourn, 18.

[17]Semusota guli mu ntamu: bw'oguta tolye, bw'oguleka tolye. "The snake's in the cooking pot: kill it or leave it you'll have nothing to eat." Welbourn 11

[18]Welbourn 25, and note, 220.

[19]Welbourn, 24.

principled decisions about the way he functioned in the Protectorate: for example, he collected taxes, but objected to a tax that was to fund medical services.

Joswa Kate Mugema's most significant actions came in response to the attempts by Apolo Kaggwa and Protectorate officials to stage events focussed on Kabaka Daudi Chwa. At a time when the lives of ordinary Baganda were challenged by overwhelming burdens on their labor and a deteriorating standard of living, the colonial government attempted to maintain people's loyalty by new versions of the practice of "showing" the king. Mugema fought bitterly with Kaggwa over the form for the ritual of the "coronation" of Chwa in 1910. That year he broke with the Church of Uganda, and established his own alternative, "Katonda Omu Ayinza Byona" (Those of God who can do all things).[20] His church emphasized belief in the power of God, disavowed the use of medicine, and did not discriminate against the unlettered and poor. 91,000 Baganda had enrolled by 1921.[21] Joswa Kate, who had been chief of the saza of Busiro for more than 20 years, was forced to resign his saza chiefship in 1919 because of his stand against colonial medical practice. He retained his position as Mugema, head of the Monkey clan and "Father" of the Kabaka. (The colonial government was forced to break precedent and appoint a saza chief for Busiro who was not head of the Monkey clan; they had to invent a new title for the chief).[22] Kate's church offered people new religion without aspects he

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[20]Welbourn, 24, note 219.

[21] Welbourn, 34. Mugema's church, was commonly known as the Malakite Church after its most vigorous promoter, Malaki Musajakawa. It deserves more scholarly attention.

[22]Welbourn, 43, 217.

considered to be European impositions: his efforts catalyzing the case against mailo offered the possibility of an integration of Ganda forms of authority in modern times.

Mailo and the Young Kabaka's Power

Four years after the 1910 "coronation" which precipitated Mugema's schism, Kabaka Daudi Chwa came into his majority with another improvised ritual. The new order of power in Buganda was dramatized as homage was paid to the king, in an event given a colonial gloss by the presence of representatives of the missionary societies and Protectorate government officials in dress uniforms. First came the Prime Minister, then the Saza and Gombolola chiefs, then the male members of the royal family, and last, the female members of the royal family.[23] A generation or two earlier, royal men would have had no place before the king (they were a threat and kept in prison), and some of the royal women would have had more authority than any one else.[24] Clan elders and spiritually powerful individuals would have been present among the powerful, and chiefs would not have been a group with identical responsibilities and status in distinct geographical units, but a network of people with overlapping roles and statuses. Kabaka Daudi Chwa, as a seventeen year old monarch, could accept the obeisance of the new equivalent of "all of Buganda," but he could not function as the center of the web of connections that had been

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[23]Miti, 1003.

[24]A few years later, when it appeared that Kabaka Daudi Chwa might side with the Bataka, Kaggwa's son and some friends published a statement claiming the Kabaka's immorality impeded the progress of the nation. Having discussed his illegitimate children, they moved on to the topic of princes who were not imprisoned, "how then can we refer to such sons as princes when we know not of the existence of such a place for their confinement?" Miti, 1070.

his kingdom in the past. The flow of goods, actions, and prestige that defined relationships in the nation had been disrupted by long distance trade and enslavement, and undermined by cash wages, forced labor and taxation. The many figures of authority that supported him had been replaced by newly defined hierarchies of saza, gombolola and miruka chiefs. These administrators knelt to the Kabaka, but they collected taxes that went to the Protectorate, and received salaries that came from Entebbe.

The years immediately following Chwa's "coming of age" were characterized by intense, convoluted struggles for power at the top of the Ganda hierarchy. Protectorate officials tried to use the period of transition to replace older Ganda chiefs with more pliable young men. Kaggwa, Mugwanya and Kisingiri became "the Three Ministers" instead of "the Regents," and they maneuvered to maintain the power that they had held in the name of the King. The young Kabaka tried to assert his authority over these ministers, and against the Provincial Commissioner and the Governor. For several years, it appeared that Apolo Kaggwa was winning and the Kabaka was losing in these struggles. Kaggwa had even reprimanded the Kabaka in front of the Saza chiefs, and not been punished.[25] The Kabaka was also humiliated by the British. In 1920, the "three ministers" attempted to undermine each other in a case that began when the new Treasurer, Musajalumbwa, flogged a worker who then appealed to Mugwanya, the Chief Justice. The British used the case as an excuse to alter the structure of Ganda government at the top. Kabaka Daudi Chwa became angry, because he believed that changing the structure of the Ganda

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[25] Daudi Chwa to Entebbe, 22/4/1915, ESA C/255/10, cited in Twaddle, "Bakungu Chiefs," 315.

hierarchy was his prerogative. When the Kabaka protested to the Governor, he was told to accept the new arrangement. Mugwanya, who had held the highest office in Buganda after Prime Minister Kaggwa, resigned in protest in December 1920.[26]

The furor over land of the early 1920s can only be understood in the context of these struggles over power: the timing of the case against mailo was completely logical in Ganda terms. The potential for conflict inherent in the early years of a reign had been enshrined in the installation ritual, in which the Kabaka fought a mock battle while ascending Budo hill. As Rowe has pointed out, young Kabakas often had to struggle to free themselves from the influence of the Katikirros who had put them in power. Offering or returning land to groups who had fallen out of favor at some earlier time was one strategy available to Kabakas in consolidating their rule. Basudde explained to the Commission of Enquiry that the re-allocation of land in 1900 did not alarm people at first because "The old method (of Kabakas seizing butaka land) did not matter so much since one could always have hope of being able to regain his butaka land by appealing to the kabaka." He cited the proverb "Omutaka nyenje tefa muka" ("the mutaka is a cockroach which does not die in the smoke") to indicate that clan elders whose land was taken by one Kabaka would continue to agitate until that king or one of his successors returned the land to the clan.[27] In the context of Chwa's obvious lack of power in relation to the Katikirro and the Protectorate, the case against mailo offered the Kabaka an opportunity to assert

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[26]Miti, 1039-41.

[27]Commission, Daudi Basudde, 352.

himself using an ultimately meaningful idiom of power over people in Buganda--the allocation of land.

Joswa Kate Mugema acted in his capacity as father of the reigning Kabaka and Prime Minister for the dead kabakas when he mobilized people to make the case against mailo. In November 1921, he wrote to "all my friends, the Bataka who were robbed of their clan estates in Buganda" calling them to a meeting in January to discuss the issue of butaka, "as our king, whose coming of age we have hitherto been waiting for, has now attained his majority."[28] According to Miti, this meeting had to be postponed because of poor attendance, but on the second attempt, on January 27, 1922, "a record number of men and women" gathered to discuss the issue, make contributions, and choose secretaries.[29] Kaggwa tried to have Daudi Basudde arrested for collecting an illegal tax, but the Provincial Commissioner ruled that voluntary contributions to the Bataka cause were acceptable.

The Bataka Federation's appeal to Kabaka Daudi Chwa, issued a few weeks after the meeting, describes the injustice suffered by the bataka in the mailo allocation and asks the Kabaka to take back all the land and assign it again.[30]

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[28]Miti, 1052.

[29]Miti, 1053.

[30]An initial fifteen paragraph document appears in "The Baganda Land Holding Question," dated February, in SMP 6902, dated 22 February, and in a slightly different translation, in Miti, dated 6 February. Several paragraphs were excerpted by D. A. Low in The Mind of Buganda, 62-3. A second letter, which begins with a numbered paragraph numbered 16, was dated 1 March 1922, and signed by Miti, can be found in SMP 6902.

> "What we want is that all mailos must be returned back and be put into your hands, and that you yourself shall distribute the land to the clans, and then afterwards your chiefs shall be given some. We also want our Native Kibuga to be returned back to You: that is to say, the Kibuga to be Kabaka's property, as it used to be long ago."[31]

In this first statement to the Kabaka, and repeatedly during their testimony, the Bataka community explained that mailo had been allocated unjustly because "you, our Kabaka, the Supreme head of Bataka, who would have defended our interest was in your minority." The kabaka had not been able to prevent the injustice because he was a child, now that he was in control, he could change everything. (In a later letter to the Governor, Yuda Musa Musoke asserted that the Kabaka "was quite astonished" when he found that clans had lost their land during his minority).[32]

The appeal placed the controversy in the context of Ganda remembered history, naming the Kabakas who had grown into adulthood and taken power back from caretakers, and disputes over land that caused people to kill each other, and could only be resolved by the Kabaka.[33] The mailo allocation had "spoiled all the land settlement, dispersed the whole country and led to the confiscation of all our Butaka lands, absolutely destroying some clan communities"; the Bataka pointed out that "our Kabaka, who ruled us, would never have done."[34] The implications of the appeal were clear: things might

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[31]"Further Resolution re Bataka Question," 1/3/1922, para. 16.

[32] The Bataka Community, The Baganda Land Holding Question, pamphlet prepared for private circulation, n.d., in possession of author; hereafter referred to as Land Holding Question, 19; SMP 6902, 1/8/22 Masiga Bataka to Governor.

[33]Appeal, paragraphs 16, 7.

[34]Butaka Land Question, 19.

have gone badly when the Kabaka was a child, but the Mugema and other "Bataka Federation" members would support him in asserting his power over the forces that had impeded good government during his childhood.[35]

The Grammar of Omusango

The form of the appeal made by the Mugema, Miti, and the rest of "the Bataka Federation" is a key to understanding its meaning. When they asked Kabaka Daudi Chwa to address the land issue in 1922 they asked him to hear a case:

> We, your Bataka...pray you most humbly to kindly consent to hear mercifully to the following our complaints which we are representing before you.[36]

When the same group took the case to the colonial authorities they spoke of "the points in dispute" "which we would like His Britannic Majesty's Government to decide."[37] The Regents who had made the mailo allocation clearly saw themselves as defendants in a case against them. The Katikirro Apolo Kaggwa wrote to all the Saza Chiefs on March 4, 1922, that a " great event" had taken place in the Lukiko, "Chiefs Mugema and Jemusi Miti in company with all the bataka had us tried on a charge of having distributed the mailo land badly by giving large shares to our friends and to our children."[38] When the

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[35]Appeal, paragraph xx p. 19 juxtaposes the Kabaka's power over land with that of His Majesty's Government; Miti, 1003 on bakopi expectations that butaka would be restored when the Kabaka came of age; Welbourn, 25, on Mugema's offer of support to the Kabaka.

[36] Letter to Kabaka 2/1922; Land Holding Question, 17.

[37]Land Holding Question, 4.

[38] Miti, 1066.

decision had been made to set up a Commission of Inquiry, Kaggwa wrote in great alarm to the Provincial Commissioner of Buganda, that the Regents had done the work they had been given of distributing villages. What had they done wrong to require a trial before the Protectorate officers they had faithfully served? If the Regents were being put on trial, why were they not given an opportunity to know the exact case against them?[39]

In Buganda, bringing and hearing cases involved most adult members of a community at the local level, and the skills involved were highly prized. People sought justice by presenting their complaint in the presence of the person being complained against, before a chief or other authority who was superior to both litigants. In the precolonial period, a decision of one chief against another sometimes had the consequence that the loser lost his position; observers during the tumultuous late nineteenth century reported that the loser's possessions were often plundered. Cases could be appealed to a higher level chief; the ultimate appeal was to the Kabaka.[40] Everyone who was available could listen and, at the local level, participate. Mackay noted in 1881 that "there is a never-ending amount of musango (trial) going on."[41] The pervasive place of cases in daily life is evident in the English language exercise book of a rising Christian chief in 1898.[42]

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[39]Kaggwa to P.C.; P.C.'s Office to Katikiro, 7 April, 1924, ESA, SMP 6902.

[40]Mackay wrote in 1881 that the ultimate appeal was to the Katikirro, but cases described in recorded oral tradition suggest that cases went to the Kabaka, and Mackay's observation probably describes the situation when the power of the Kabaka had been significantly eroded. Mackay 187-8.

[41]Mackay, by his sister, 187.

[42]Ezera Kabali papers, Makerere University Library Africana Collection.

In a very neat hand are the translations into English: "The dog wants a bun." "Shall we have cakes for tea? ". On the facing page are the learner's own sentences "He has cut a difficult case." "How will he argue the case?"

The forms and processes of omusango incorporate the motivations which observers have attributed to the Bataka Federation as well as the goals which they themselves articulated.[43] The disputed issue in the case was control of land, and the large incomes land owners were obtaining from tithes on cash crops produced by their tenants has to be considered a factor in the case: some of the bataka complainants may have been seeking rents and not interested in the larger issues. As we have seen, however, the leaders of the bataka were very large land owners. Many observers have explained their participation as a vendetta against Kaggwa, and the structure of omusango placed the complainants in opposition to the Regents who had made the mailo allocation. Winning against the Katikirro would have toppled him from power in the past, and personal attacks on Apolo Kaggwa and Stanislaus Mugwanya were a significant part of the case. But it is important to recognize that the issues of lost land and dissatisfaction with

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[43] The acting Governor Archer accurately summarized the contemporary perception of the motivations of the Bataka in his summary letter to the Secretary of State (probably drafted by Sturrock): "The members are actuated by various motives. Some are purely self-interested and are endeavoring, as prominent members of the clan organization, to obtain estates in individual freehold by compulsory transfer from allottees under the Agreement; others have no ground for dissatisfaction as to their personal allotments under the Agreement and are prompted by political motives to attack the existing Government at what they consider to be a vulnerable point. Not a few have joined the Federation from motives of personal dislike of certain prominent officials of the Native Government. Some few, however, are actuated by genuinely disinterested motives, and are honestly endeavoring to correct what they consider to be a tribal injustice." Archer, SMP 6902 item 95, 20/4/23

Kaggwa's thirty eight years of imperious rule are integrally connected to the bataka's critique of new power in Buganda, because the action of carrying out the case dramatized the appropriate location of power--in the hands of the Kabaka. By casting their complaint in the form of a case, the bataka group implied that injustice had been done against them and that the higher authority--the Kabaka and later the British--would recognize that injustice and give them what they deserved.

Daudi Chwa's Attempt to Rule and its Aftermath

Kabaka Daudi Chwa did accept the opportunity offered by Mugema and the Bataka Federation to assert his power by re-allocating land. He heard arguments presented by thirty five heads of clans and counter-arguments by Apolo Kaggwa, the Prime Minister, and Stanislaus Mugwanya, who had been the Chief Justice, for one week in March of 1922. On June 6, 1922 Chwa gave his decision that some of the bataka's land had been unjustly taken and ought to be returned. He determined that the majority of the clans were still in possession of their most important butaka, although they had lost part of the land related to them. Some of the butaka of masiga (branches) of the clans had been taken by chiefs claiming land, and all of the land that had been given by a Kabaka to a specific person had been lost. He instructed the Lukiko to figure out a way to give the land back. Apolo Kaggwa was obviously frightened, as he wrote to the Governor that the Bataka's action set "a very unfavorable precedent" that might undermine the prestige of the Native Government.[44]

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[44]ESA, SMP 6902, Kaggwa to Governor, 12 June, 1922.

Over the next few months people waited to see whether Kaggwa would surrender the authority that belonged to the King. People stopped cultivating land that they feared might change hands.[45] The Governor called together Kaggwa and the other Ministers, the Saza and some Gombolola chiefs, and lectured them on solving their own problems.[46] Daudi Chwa began to make individual land decisions, and the Lukiko ignored them, causing Chwa to complain,

> You should understand that when all the people write to me they do so on the conviction that they are addressing their own king themselves to their own King, who they trust will assist them in the restoration of this butaka property. Nor do I treat such correspondence with contempt. On the contrary I write comments on the giving instructions at the same time that such complainants should have their property restored to them. But when the people observe that their names and my comments are not read out in the Lukiko they are naturally led to think that their King did not pay attention to their petition.[47]

Chwa demanded that the Lukiko return to him any letter regarding land about which it had refused to take action, so that he could follow up.

The first turning point in the case against mailo came when the Lukiko refused the Kabaka's request to return land to the bataka in 1922. Kaggwa emphasized his humiliating defeat of the bataka by drafting a bill that allowed the sale of butaka to strangers after the land had first been offered to clan members, and allowing clan elders to live on clan land as long as they behaved as respectful, obedient servants of their landlord.[48] In a brief,

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[45]ESA, SMP 6902, Mugema et al to Governor, 30/5/1922.

[46]ESA, SMP 6902, 11/7/1922.

[47] Chwa to Lukiko 18/9/1922, reproduced in Miti, 1088-89.

[48] SMP 6902, also Miti 920-921, n.b. this comes after page 1090.

bitter letter which might have been calculated to rally support, Kabaka Chwa wrote to the bataka in October, 1926, that since the Lukiko had rejected the law, he could do nothing for them.[49] Kaggwa's victory over his king exposed a process that had begun a half century before when his predecessors began to trade and amass wealth independently of Kabaka Mutesa. The loss of the Kabaka's power to Kaggwa, which had been neatly hidden by the Regency, was now perfectly obvious. The degree to which the new power of the Katikirro obscured a permanent loss of power to the "Protecting Power" had yet to be fully demonstrated.

Colonial Power on Trial on a Colonial Stage: The Multiple Meanings of Butaka

The Kabaka's failure to restore their butaka land did not cause people to lose confidence in the power of their king. Nor did they blame their frustration and distress on the deepening Protectorate presence in Buganda. Instead, the Ganda leaders of the case against mailo asked the colonial government to restore order in Buganda by putting everyone back in their proper place--the Kabaka, the bataka, and the chiefs. In streams of letters to Entebbe, the Bataka Federation and a splinter organization of Masiga bataka asked that the Government hear the case and settle it in their favor, against the allocators of mailo.[50] The Governor initially tried to scold the Baganda for not solving their own problems and insist that the issue had to be resolved by the Native Government, but the stream of articulate protest from the leaders of the Bataka movement to their friends in

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[49] Baganda Land Holding Question, 29.

[50] The Masiga Bataka, including Yuda Musoke and Malaki Masajakawa began to write independently to Protectorate officials, in long, intricate impassioned Luganda, starting in August, 1922.

England and to important figures in the Home Government eventually forced the Protectorate government to capitulate. After some discussion of what form the intervention should take, the decision was finally made to hold a Commission of Enquiry in Buganda in April, 1924.

In the first phase of their case, the bataka had called upon the King to act justly and re-allocate land. In the second phase, they specifically asked the British government to restore Ganda forms of government in order to allow the Kabaka to govern. The booklet they published in English to influence public opinion explained,

> ...under the 1900 Treaty our Kabaka's time hounoured and immemorial prerogative of being himself an adjudicator in disputes and allotter of unoccupied land has been destroyed, further because our native kingdoms and its land policy and social economy were inseparable connected with the preservation of our native system of land tenure, and since all these were changed and since the Government failure to comprehend our indigenous social views on the land question, we find the consequences to have led to much misunderstanding and our Native Government is now falling to pieces.[51]

The failure of the new forms of authority and the necessity of incorporating old ones were the basis of the case that the Bataka brought to the Protectorate's Commission of Enquiry in 1924.

How was it possible for Baganda who had once been powerful to bring a case against new forms of authority before officers of the British Protectorate? The Uganda Police provided a 100 man Guard of Honor when the Commission of Inquiry first met on April 10, 1924. The two Commissioners, the Provincial Commissioner Sturrock and the Chief Justice Griffin, were greeted with a salute of guns and music by the King's African

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[51] Baganda Land Holding Question 29-30.

Rifles Band, and then opening speeches were made in front of "distinguished Government personages."[52] Colonial support for a critique of colonialism happened because Baganda made statements about injustice and power which their British listeners heard as statements about injustice and land ownership; if the Protectorate authorities had followed the implications of the arguments on Ganda terms, it is unlikely that the argument could have been made on a public stage, with or without police salutes and army bands. Another important factor was a pattern of a polarization of responsibility that Baganda and British both utilized. All the protagonists maintained strategic silences in their presentation of the conflict, defining fault and friendship in ways that allowed them to maintain connections with the parties which seemed most useful, and avoid blame themselves.

"Butaka" became a symbol for all that had been lost with mailo, even though the complainants were asking for more than land, and the land they wanted had not all been clan land. In addition to the lost lands of clans, their specific claims included the land that had been the Kibuga (palace) in Mengo, the land dedicated to spirit mediums in Sesse and Mawokota, and the lands of princesses and princes who were moved to Busirro so that they could "look after" the shrines of the dead Kabakas. Only seven of the group who named themselves the "Bataka Federation" were the recognized heads of clans; four Bataka immediately created an opposing organization, and thirty three clan heads did not attach their names to either organization.[53] Why did the Baganda who made the case

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[52]Letter to Commissioner of Police, 4 April 1922, ESA, SMP 6902; Miti, 1102-3.

[53]The bataka in the "Buganda National Federation of Bataka" were Aligizanda Ndugwa, Lugave Clan; Semioni Nankere, Mamba Clan; Vesenti Kawoya, Ngeye Clan; Yuda K. Mukasa for Kinkumu Kasolo, Ng'onge Clan, and Saulo Lugwisa, Mpologoma

against mailo call all this land "butaka" and themselves "bataka"? The word "mutaka" was also used to describe the earliest resident of a village, the one who would be consulted in a dispute because they knew the area better than anyone else. Perhaps "the Bataka Federation" intended this meaning. It is possible that the group who complained about mailo called themselves the "Bataka Federation" to emphasize their knowledge of Buganda that preceded the time of mailo.[54] Disregard for clan land in the mailo allocation was clearly a powerful symbol of things gone wrong, one that focussed public attention. In the absence of direct evidence of the evolution of the thinking of the Baganda who brought the case against mailo, it is also possible to surmise that they shaped their case in terms of butaka partly because complaints about butaka had gotten a response.

In the twenty years that followed the mailo allocation, British Protectorate officials had sometimes intervened to ensure that clan elders regained control of clan land. In contrast, royal women who tried to regain their place, and people who had held land commemorating relationships with the Kabaka appear to have been unsuccessful in attracting Protectorate sympathy.[55] In 1903, the District Commissioner George Wilson called attention to problems in the original land proposals that had been pointed out to him by the Mugema Joswa Kate; in this letter, Wilson warned that the question was

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Clan, as well as Miti and Joswa Kate. The "Bataka Society Who Keep the Baganda Mailo Agreement of 1900" included Aligizanda N. Gabunga, Daudi Zamwanguya for Mugalulua, Nsenene Clan, and Selwano Sento, the Sabalangira. Esa,SMP 6902 25/2/1922, Miti to Kabaka Daudi Chwa.

[54]A. F. Robertson, Community of Strangers: A Journal of Discovery in Uganda, London: Scolar Press, 1978, 112-3.

[55]Commission, 541.

complicated, had been dealt with by the Lukiko, and the Protectorate ought to avoid it.[56] Cases concerning butaka land were appealed from the Lukiko to Protectorate Administrators or heard in the High Court: the D.C. Stanley Tomkins intervened in the notorious Kajubi case in 1906, and had listened to others, including Andereya Kiwanuka's complaint against Kaggwa for Mboga clan land.[57] Very early High Court decisions that involved the conflict between butaka claims and mailo included Nasanairi Kibuka versus Bertie Smith, and a complicated case involving Hamu Mukasa. Protectorate officials had also had to consider complaints about butaka land that clans lost when the Protectorate capital was built in Entebbe. Although these interactions did not always lead to satisfaction of clan claims, they cumulatively appear to have created an impression that British Protectorate officials recognized the loss of butaka as an injustice. Before the Commission of Enquiry, people referred to George Wilson's statement twenty years earlier, claiming that Bwana Tayali (Wilson) had said "the bataka will weep."[58]

In 1918, the Land Office initiated a scheme that gave weight to the perception that the Protectorate was concerned about butaka land. The Land Officer, the Conveyancer, the Acting Attorney General and the P.C. for Buganda developed a plan through which each clan would provide documentation of its butaka that had been lost, and then the Land

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[56]Welbourn, 19 and note, 246. Wilson's memorandum can no longer be located in the archives of the Uganda Land and Surveys Department.

[57]Commission, Andereya Kiwanuka, 375; also Yokana Kiwanuka, 435-6.

[58]Commission, Alikisi Kasolobugndu, 411.

Office would supervise exchange or purchase of the land.[59] Most clan elders could not assemble the required maps of each butaka estate, and signatures of the mutaka and masiga (subsidiary) bataka for each one, as well as records of their current ownership, before the December 1918 deadline set by the Land Registry Office. Furthermore, many clan elders did not own land to exchange for the butaka land, could not afford to buy it, and the mailo owners were not inclined to give up the rich, highly populated villages that had been butaka. The implausibility of the plan, and the fact that any butaka claim filed after December 1918 became invalid suggests that the scheme originated in the Land Office's desire to streamline land registration by eliminating conflicts over competing claims to land.[60] That notwithstanding, the promulgation of the Land Office letter impressed people with land grievances. Referring to the plan, the Bataka Federation wrote, "we are quite aware that His Majesty's Government was fully sympathizing with us and seeing that our Butaka had been disorganized and taken by those who were not their owners."[61] The activity clans undertook to comply with the Land Office deadline for exchanging land for butaka in 1918 may have shaped the case against mailo, crystallizing the frustrations of people who had once again failed to regain what they had lost, and assuring them that Protectorate officials would pay attention to complaints about butaka.

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[59] Land Officers Memorandum No. a 4760/798, 25 January 1818, quoted in Sturrock to Chief Secretary, 4 June 1921, ESA, SMP 6902.

[60]The philosophical and methodological conflicts between the Land Officer and the Provincial Commissioner are discussed below.

[61]Land Holding Question, 21.

Ganda leaders and Protectorate officials attached fundamentally different meanings to the loss of butaka, however. Baganda explained butaka as a means of naming people, of defining who they were and how they related to the rest of Obuganda.[62] Semei Sabagala Kyadondo, the venerable Mutaka of the Nvuma clan, proved their right to the lost butaka Kyadondo by explaining what the clan did there:

> This butaka land has been given to us by Kabaka Nakibinge, who planted a tree there for us to tie on his cow which we look after there and which is called Nakawombe; moreover, the present Kabaka Daudi Chwa came to this place and saw this very tree and he also gave us his own cow to look after...[63]

When one mutaka had explained butaka as "the origin or beginning of the Baganda from time immemorial," Daudi Basudde attempted to clarify:

> The butaka of Kasolya has been in existence since a very long time ago, and no one knows when it started, but it started with taka. [glossed by Basudde as 'earth or land'] . To show how important the 'butaka of Kasolya' is considered, the names given to members of a particular clan are sometimes the names of the hills where the 'butaka of kasolya' is located.[64]

The masiga bataka tried to explain the necessity of regaining lost butaka in a letter to the Governor: "We firmly say that there is not a mutaka (muganda) who does not know where he was born."[65] Since people were not actually born at their clan butaka, these clan

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[62] The argument of section three, below, is that authority over people and responsibility for the well-being of the kingdom were implicit in these claims.

[63]Commission, Semei Sebagala Kyadondo, 442.

[64]Commission, Daudi Basudde, 350; Malaki Musajakawa, 342.

[65]Masiga Bataka to Governor, 1/8/1922; ESA SMP 6902; Miti was still politely arguing the importance of clan lands being owned by the appropriate person in the siga in a letter to the Governor four years later; SMP 6902 Miti to Governor 26/4/1926, item # 217.dated 26 April, 1926.

elders were talking about the origin of identity, not physical birth. Asking for the return of butaka meant asking for the restoration of a Ganda order of things, of people being who they were, in their appropriate place, under the authority of the right rulers.

Protectorate officials uniformly failed to perceive these implications of mailo: for them, the problem was that the clans had been deprived of their property, and the loss of property was a serious injury that deserved Protectorate attention. J.C.R. Sturrock, who was fluent in Luganda and had been Daudi Chwa's tutor, considered the mailo system to be "entirely foreign to Baganda ideas and entirely subversive of Buganda custom"; but this was because it ignored the social organization of the tribe--the clan, and the butaka, which were the communally held "property of the clans."[66] A newly arrived Protectorate Official saw the problem in terms familiar to himself: if the issue was lost burial grounds, why not place fences around butaka and give everyone access to the graves?[67] In their attempts to resolve the butaka problem, Protectorate Officials focussed on the question of how whole clans could be represented as owners, entirely avoiding the issue of the lost political power of clan elders. For example, the plan created by the Land Office and Provincial Commissioner in 1918 specified that the returned clan land would not be registered in the name of the clan leader, but would be held in trusteeship by a clan council.[68] The deliberations that led to the plan, and the wording of it, suggest that the concern was

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[66]Sturrock to Chief Secretary, 4/6/1921, ESA SMP 6902; Governor Archer's letter to the Secretary of State; 20/4/1923, p. 5, ESA SMP 6902, probably drafted by Sturrock.

[67] J. de G. Delmege, SMP 225, 49-50. (This odd citation is at the end of my pamphlet file).

[68]Miti, 1028.

representing a form of communal ownership, and not (as the circumstance might have been perceived by Baganda), an attempt to hold clan elders out of power.

The gap between Ganda and British meanings for butaka can be traced all the way through the case against mailo. Bataka complained that they "virtually became peasants," a statement that encapsulated a loss of authority and status as well as land; but it was understood as only a complaint about lost land.[69] Daudi Basudde described the ceremonies of asking for and receiving a bark cloth tree to mark the creation of sub-clans, a ritual which, like the opening of the British parliament, defined political relationships through actions, not written words. What the colonial officers understood from his description, however, was that the bark cloth trees marked the ownership of the land.[70] Butaka had the array of meanings for Ganda leaders that "the crown" had for British officers, but throughout the case against mailo, the British responded to something smaller; as if the Baganda were calling for a restoration of "the crown" and intending only the return of a piece of elaborate jewelry.

The Tenuous Intersection of Discourses of Power

Ganda thinkers were able to mount a sustained critique of colonial forms of power with the support of Protectorate authorities not only because they spoke of power in unfamiliar ways, but also because they insisted that all the injustice they suffered had been

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[69]Land Holding Question, 4.

[70]Commission, Dudi Basudde, 350-1.

caused by the Lukiko leaders, and not by the British. The tidy dichotomies of fault and virtue which the case evoked illustrate the utility of indirect rule: the Bataka blamed the Regents, the Regents blamed the Bataka, and the British criticized Kaggwa in private but in public blamed the Regents and Bataka for not working things out together. Throughout the dispute, no one spoke about taxes that drained the spring of Buganda at its source, or about the strain of massive labor calls, or about the overwhelming consequences for Ganda society of people working for wages. The intended alienation of 9,000 square miles of Buganda to be Protectorate Crown Land was only mentioned once before the Commission, and even that was part of a statement about waste land.[71] Instead, all the frustration was focussed internally, and shaped into arguments that would appeal to the colonial ruler. The testimony of complainants in the case against mailo demonstrates how indirect rule worked for the colonizer: they were not being blamed for problems they had caused. However, the passionate statements of Bataka witnesses also point to a significant, but hard-to-glimpse facet of the interaction of Africans and foreign wielders of power. Faced with the destruction of the political structures of their kingdom, the Bataka community did not blame the British colonizers, whose actions did not appear to be immediately relevant or remarkable. Instead, they blamed the upheaval in Ganda forms of governance on chiefs whose actions could be explained as willful selfishness.

The Bataka framed their case in a way that pointed to the Regents' failure to fulfill the just intentions of the British. They continually argued that the Agreement paragraph 15 stated that everyone was to receive the miles which he possessed at that time. "The

[71]Commission, Shem Spire Mukasa and Apolo Kaggwa, 522.

representatives of the Good Queen Victoria made the agreement to certify that every one shall remain on his land of which he was in possession at that time." The problem, they said, came when the Regents misreprented the Agreement in order to take all the land for themselves. Various witnesses explained, "the Katikiro put the Agreement in his house and did not show us"; "we the Saza chiefs were not supplied with copies of it to study it and know that each person shall receive the estates of which he was then in possession." The Bataka pointedly testified that they had, indeed, felt dissatisfied with British intervention, until they realized the truth,

> we could not help thinking that perhaps this new system of land tenure which had been introduced into our country by the Government of the Good Queen Victoria had really been introduced with the intention of bringing misery to us the Bataka. We only discovered a short time ago the provisions of the Uganda Agreement which were quite good.[72]

Almost every written communication by the Bataka and every witness before the Commission returned to the selfish deception of the Regents, which undermined the good intentions of the British.

In the structure of their argument, the Bataka made the assumption that the ruler of England would want what they wanted, and she would think the way they thought. This might have been a ploy, but it also might have been a generous extension of logic, and of the Ganda model of ruling over other polities. A beneficent and effective ruler would want good government in a tributary state, and would not destroy it internally. The Baganda did not attribute the destruction of the good customs of Buganda to a distant and unknown

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[72]Commission, Malaki Musajakawa, 341, Zakayo Semakade, 366, Samwiri Mukasa, 491; Luisi Majwega, 370; also, Land Holding Question, 23-4, Appeal, paragraph 14.

British Government. Instead, they blamed familiar people whose actions they had seen and whose motivations could be identified. Kaggwa had given up his own lands and "taken up others he coveted"; "he seized them because he saw they were fine estates."[73] Kaggwa, Mugwanya, and Kisingiri had wanted to have more for themselves, and they had taken what they wanted from everyone less powerful than themselves. Everything difficult that happened later was a consequence of their actions. In their perception of the causes and solution to the problems they perceived in their country, the Baganda who made the case against mailo stayed inside an intellectual universe in which important chiefs who acted selfishly caused ruin and a Kabaka with power might create well-being. In their explanations of their case, the colonial power was a vague and not tremendously significant minor figure.

The British officials who became involved in the case operated inside similar hegemonic boundaries: they recognized their own power, and believed the chiefs they employed to be capable of serving well or serving badly, but they were not threatened by a coalition of formerly powerful Baganda. A case complaining about colonial forms of power got heard by Protectorate officials partly because the British did not recognize that the Kabaka, royal women and men, clan elders, and spiritual leaders might continue to exercise considerable independent authority. The Buganda that emerges from the correspondence of Protectorate officials at this time is one in which peasants paid their taxes at cotton ginneries, chiefs kept or did not keep good receipts, and men wore elegant

[73]Commission, 333,335,366.

kanzus to church. The social institutions which had given meaning to peoples' lives just a few decades earlier are a vague, not tremendously significant element of the background.

The tenuous connections which Ganda leaders and their British counterparts were able to make with each other in the drawn out case against mailo undermines an instrumental view of indirect rule. Perhaps intermediaries, in the form of colonial chiefs, were more than an expedient way for foreigners to exploit Africans. Perhaps indirect rule came into being because people had so much difficulty understanding each other across their fundamentally different notions of power and its instrumentalities. Without an intermediary of some kind to translate from one hegemony to another, interaction would have been impossible. Colonial chiefs made it possible for the British to function in Buganda without understanding multiple and overlapping forms of authority. Colonial chiefs enabled Baganda to perceive a cause for the erosion of social order they experienced. The wrongdoings of chiefs allocating mailo gave the Ganda leaders and the British officials a way to communicate with each other. Even so, the intersection points of Ganda and British ways of thinking about power were so tenuous that, at an important level, neither group felt seriously threatened by the other's sense of its own power. The Baganda asked for the return of the authority of the Kabaka and his men; the British Protectorate listened, but did not appear to understand.

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE DESTRUCTION OF THE GOOD CUSTOMS OF BUGANDA

In the early 1920s, the Ganda leaders who brought the case against mailo used the powerful cultural symbol of land allocation to make a profound, nuanced, and passionate critique of the effects of new forms of power on Buganda society. These leaders included older chiefs respected by both Ganda and British observers, members of the generation of schooled young men, and people whose place of authority had been erased in 1900. All claimed that mailo was destroying the foundation of the Buganda kingdom. In a series of protests that culminated in a colonial Commission of Inquiry, they asserted the superiority of Ganda forms of power and authority over those created in 1900, calling for a reform of relationships between rulers and ruled, and insisting that the good customs of Buganda could be integrated with British overrule in a way that would be beneficial for everyone.

Mailo Shattering the Foundations of the Kingdom

The Bataka Federation argued that mailo land removed the unwritten constitution that had been continually re-enacted when the appropriate people remembered ancestors at the appropriate places. The active remembering of the past carried out by Bataka and others made Buganda; if these important people did not have the prestige implied by control of their estates, they could not carry out their part of maintaining the nation in an appropriate way, and the kingdom could not exist. The Kabaka had to take the land back

and redistribute it, the Bataka urged, because making private property out of the land that had given order and meaning to the nation had altered social and political relationships in Buganda at every level. When the Regents allocated mailo,

> they upset everything and as the results of that mistake caused the present ill feeling which exists among our people as a whole, shattering also our country from its former foundation and destroying all our good customs of helping and loving each other, thus putting us under a form of Government which we cannot understand. We feel as if we were under the hybrid customs.[1]

Shem Spire Mukasa, the Private Secretary to the Kabaka, summarized the Bataka community's case in this way:

> Our main points of contention in this dispute are as follows:-
> 1) The first one is that we have been deprived of our Butaka estates, and this point is the direct cause of the second point which is this:-
> 2) That the native customs which are the guardian of the importance and prestige of our nation have been entirely destroyed.[2]

The Bataka Federation used the loss of butaka land to criticize changes in political structures, habits of governance, and social relationships in Buganda.

The Bataka community's complaints have been seen as a personal attack on Apolo Kaggwa, and it is important to acknowledge that some parts of the testimony before the Commission of Inquiry clearly had that goal. Admitting his part in allocating and accepting mailo, the Kangawo, Samwiri Mukasa, said "The Regents' instructions were these: that we

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[1] Appeal to Kabaka Daudi Chwa by the "Buganda National Federation of Butaka," February 1922, Land Holding Question, 17-25. paragraph 3. Hereafter cited as 6/2/1922 Appeal, with paragraph number.

[2]Commission, Shem Spire Mukasa, 381.

were given land and that we should take it up wherever we could find it. Some of the things which we considered could not be done you (Kaggwa) allowed them to be done."[3] The witness for the clan of princes claimed that Kaggwa had committed the "abomination" of unburying a Kabaka in order to solidify his claim to land.[4]

> he made us unbury the bones of the dead, our relatives the princes and princesses who died a long time ago and he drove them away from those butaka villages which he had finished snatching. And he did not stop with those bones only, but there were the bones of a Kabaka (king) himself which he removed from the grave. The words we say are that it can never be forgotten in Buganda.[5]

Kaggwa was given an opportunity to cross-examine the prince, who then made his condemnation even more specific:

> Kaggwa: The skull [of Kabaka Tebendeke, 18th king of the Buganda dynasty] you are talking about was buried in the grave and I removed it?
> Prince: You ripped it out of the place where it had been for all those years and you removed it.
> Commissioner: Did you put it outside?
> Prince: You told us "You put it in another place you want, I have taken the land."[6]

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[3]Commission, Samwiri Mukasa, 491-2.

[4] Examples of this from early in the 20th century: A husband trying to reclaimed his wife did not just say she had abandoned him, he said she was the essence of neglectful: she had made herself abort and starved another child. Lukiko Record. In 1948 an angry wife did not accuse her husband of not treating her properly when the household moved, she claimed he had pulled the house down around her while she was inside it, John Katende, Cases and Materials, Land Law in East Africa, Vol 1, Land /69/4/ (b) Makerere University, n.d.

[5]Commission, Yosiya Mawanda Kyamagwa, 479.

[6]SMP 6902, Entebbe Archives, p. 480, my translation.

Kaggwa had not in fact done the abominable thing of which he was accused; he had not unburied the skull of a Kabaka, or told people he did not care what happened to it as long as he owned the land.[7] Prince Kyamagwa's testimony evoked memories of an actual event in 1906, when Kaggwa had unburied the bones of Nsenene clan elders (and incurred the anger of both Ganda and British authorities), but it also had tremendous symbolic meaning.[8] Reminding the people assembled in the Commission of Inquiry of that reprehensible action, for which Kaggwa had been temporarily kicked out of the Nsenene clan, had the effect of embarrassing him in public, but it also provided a powerful image of everything that the Bataka community felt had gone wrong with the allocation of mailo. Kaggwa's actions allocating mailo had demonstrated complete disrespect for the authority of dead and living Kabakas:it was as destructive and immoral as ripping the skull of a king out of its burial place.

The leaders of the case against mailo may have wanted Apolo Kaggwa out of power, but to perceive their complaints as nothing more than a personal attack on the aging Katikirro diminishes the clear, direct statements the Bataka community made about the nature of good government and a wholesome society. Daudi Basudde and Yuda Musoke wrote to the Chief Secretary, explaining why the Governor had to pay attention to the Bataka's case:

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[7]Commission, ex-Sabalangira, 482.

[8] This action, discussed in Chapter 4, had made Ganda and British authorities furious with him and may have contributed to the attempt to disbar him from the clan in 1910. Miti, 995.

> We humbly beg to state that we see that it will be difficult for this land of ours to advance in the way forward as the Government has promised to all of us as we see that as regards the foundation on which our country has been built since 1900 it has proved a foundation of progress on the shorter side of the building but on the other side the foundation is not level and this side is with its good customs on which Buganda rests .... it is difficult to set this side straight until the Government listens to the Bataka. For the Bataka are Buganda and where there are no Bataka there is no Buganda.[9]

If the goal of the Protectorate was to lay the foundation of good government, then the British needed to pay attention to the structures of Buganda that had caused it to function effectively as a nation. In making their case, the Bataka delineated the nature of political and social relationships that constituted "the good customs" of Buganda.

Critiquing Colonial Rule

The central argument in the case against mailo had to do with power. The Bataka argued that power had to be restored to those who had lost it in order for Buganda to be well-governed. The kingdom needed all the multiple forms of authority it had had in the past. The Bataka also criticized how power was exercised in colonial Buganda: good government, they said, required more people participating in discussions and more contributions to the process of decision-making. The land owning chiefs defended themselves by arguing about the nature of power in the Buganda past: they said the Kabaka had always been absolute, while the Bataka claimed that kabakas had always compromised. The Regents described power in Buganda as something rather like water: it flowed through channels from the Kabaka, to the most powerful chiefs who sat in the

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[9] ESA SMP 6902, Daudi Basudde and Yuda Musa Mukasa, 15/5/1922 to Chief Secretary.

Lukiko and represented him, through small chiefs, to the smallest ones. The Bataka community, on the other hand, described power in Buganda as something more like light: it refracted through many different figures, and coalesced in the Kabaka.

The Harmful Constriction of Forms of Authority

The leaders of the case against mailo asked for a return of the complex, multiple structures of power that had characterized Buganda in the past. In their original appeal, they asked the Kabaka to return land to those who had held it in 1900; implicit in that request was a return of the authority associated with control of the land. "What we are requesting Your Highness is the restoration of all the said Clan Community in their former positions." "What we request is to put each and every individual back within his old boundaries known up to the present day." In the Appeal to the Kabaka, the Bataka community mentioned land that had been associated with powerful figures in Buganda that was not butaka land: the royal market place in the Kibuga, the land of spirit mediums on Bussi and Buganga, estates belonging to the Kabaka "which they knew very well that from time ever immemorial had never been alienated by anybody else," and the estates of princes and princesses.[10]

The Bataka community made their claims for a return of power more explicit as the case progressed. Daudi Basudde and Yuda Mukasa informed the Chief Secretary that the purposes of the National (Buganda) Federation of Bataka included "to make a new start to put our butaka on a proper footing such as it was before H.M. Government came

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[10]6.2.1922 Appeal, paragraph 15; also "Further Resolution re Bataka Question, 1/3/1922 Miti to Kabaka, paragraph 18.

to Buganda," and "to restore our clans to the position they used to hold and that every clan should send its representative to speak for it in the chief judicial assembly of our nation as used to be the custom."[11] In the Bataka community's English language publication produced in preparation for the Commission of Enquiry, they suggested nine "conditions" which would establish "a permanent peaceful settlement." These included

> 3) all the tribal lands should be held by the heads of clan communities and in trust for respective clan members;
> 4) All the lands which were known as belonging to or were the property of the Office, should be returned to that office.
> 7) Restoration of the power of our Kabaka of allotting the unoccupied lands.
> 8) Native laws and customs on the land to be maintained and recognized by the over ruling power.
> 9) The rights of the Bataka both in receiving percentage of the taxes and that of being equally entrusted with the general governance of the country, should be restored to them.[12]

These "conditions" would have restored the multiple forms of authority that had existed before the 1900 Agreement.

As we have seen in Chapters 4 and 5, the hierarchy of chiefs had been drastically streamlined by the British Protectorate as it strove to implement efficient administration. Thirty or forty years previously, taxes had been collected by chains of chiefs of different ranks who collected together and divided the tax among themselves in complicated ways before passing the rest on to the capital. "All of Buganda" had consisted of a complex and layered system of people holding many different ranks: often one individual held more than one position. Some people in this system had authority from their clan positions; some had

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[11]Basudde and Mukasa to Chief Secretary, 15/5/1922, SMP 6902.

[12]Land Holding Question, 32.

one of a variety of forms of royal status; some had unique positions of power that had been created by the gift of a Kabaka in the past; others had been appointed by the reigning Kabaka or his predecessor. How these figures ranked in relation to each other had been subject to negotiation and varied according to the relative strength of different components at any moment in time.[13] It was not, as observers have imagined, a simple situation in which people appointed by the Kabaka sat at the top of hierarchies of people who had an ancient clan position. The thousands of people who participated in this structure of governing had been rationalized into a much smaller structure of three tiers of Saza, Gombolola, and Miruka chiefs.[14] By the 1920s, perhaps thousands of positions of authority had been eliminated.

The demise of the place of the Sabaganzi illustrates the narrowing of authority that occurred throughout the early colonial period. Some important positions in Buganda disappeared because the Regents gave the land of the authority figure to someone else; others were excluded from the rank of chiefs when British officers became more involved in tax collection; other positions, such as that of the Sabaganzi, ceased to have meaning in the new order of power and disappeared in all but name at the death of the person who had been holding the title at the time of the miles. The Sabaganzi was the brother of the Namasole (Queen Mother). The Namasole could make or depose Kabakas through her

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[13]Another whole set of leaders wielded authority as the interlocutors for spiritual forces.

[14]Questioning Apolo Kaggwa, Daudi Basudde referred to "the sub-chiefs who were in existence then and who have now been converted into Gombolola Chiefs," Commission, 524.

independent control of land and people and her influence over her other sons, the potential rivals of the reigning king. The Sabaganzi had estates all over the country as an agent of the Namasole. The political and social role of the Namasole as counterweight to the Kabaka had been effaced in the turmoil of the late nineteenth century, and the new order established by Kaggwa and his British counterparts made no place for her, or for the Sabaganzi. In 1924, the proper Sabaganzi held the estates of his position as mailo, but when he died, his children would inherit that land. The Sabaganzi estates, which had had a distinct and important political purpose, would cease to exist. Any future Sabaganzi would have to settle on land of the Kabaka, completely undermining the independent authority the position had once implied.[15]

Bataka witnesses described the loss of many chiefships and positions of authority which they had considered to be important. Criticizing the dismissal of all the people who had been responsible for remembering deceased Kabakas, the spokesman for the Walusimbi, said

> I have been reading the Agreement of 1900 for a long time but I have not yet come across a Clause which provides the removal of the princes and princesses from their original estates of which they were in possession and giving them land on the burial grounds of their ancestors which burial grounds had other people to look after them.[16]

Yusufu Kibirige had been a "mutaka," deciding cases and collecting tribute and service from the people on his estate, but the Regent Stanislaus Mugwanya had taken it as mailo

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[15]Commission, Commissioners' Questions to Kaggwa, 457.

[16]Commission, Lew Nsobya, on behalf of Walusimbi, 466.

and made Kibirige his "private tenant."[17] Antwani Kaikuzi had been a subordinate to a clan elder on Bussi, but his senior Lusekera got only one mile, and he got none, "So I went back home and settled down on my original land and became his (Mugwanya's) private tenant, and took up my knife and went and cut reeds and worked for him. Mine was a very important butaka land and I had been in possession of it since the reign of Kabaka Nakibinge, who gave it to me."[18]

The transition from multiple to singular forms of authority was captured in the testimony of Juma Omawanyi. He had controlled about a square mile of land as part of his office as tailor to the Kabaka; he was "the Kabaka's man." This minor office did not entitle him to receive mailo, so he became the "private man" of Mugwanya and was ordered to work on his dhow. He said "I do not quite know the actual date when this took place, as I cannot count." He accused Mugwanya of rejecting his request to be given mailo,

> It was you yourself [Mugwanya] who called us to give us miles, but when I came before you, you did not even deign to look at me but said that if you gave us miles where would you find people to rule over.[19]

Omawanyi's story suggests that his land had been a form of ekitongole--land granted to mark a particular relationship with the Kabaka, rather than butaka--land that marked the identity of clans. That Omawanyi and others called themselves bataka when they had actually held land in other capacities demonstrates the narrowing of the locations of power that had taken place in Buganda. Ganda society no longer had a place for someone who

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[17]Commission, Yusufu Kibirige on behalf of Majwega, 431.

[18]Commission, Antwani Kaikuzi, 425.

[19]Commission, Juma Owamanyi, 429.

had authority over other people because of the particular work they performed for the Kabaka: if they were not chiefs acknowledged by the Government, the only category available for them was bataka.

Even spirit mediums asked for the return of the land that had been dedicated to their Lubale by calling themselves bataka. The principal medium of the Lubaale Musisi appealed to the Protectorate authorities for a return of his land, although--perhaps because his land had been taken by Mugema--he did not participate in the case against mailo. In 1924, he wrote

> I lost my position at the hands of the three Regents, and not at the Kabaka's. I asked ... the reason for my dismissal, but they could not give it. Along with my dismissal from my position, my principal Butaka estate known as Guludene was also taken from me...What new commands have been substituted by God authorizing the usurpation of our Butaka lands whilst they (the ministers) had their own Butaka estates which had not been taken away from them?[20]

Guggu, the priest of the shrine of the Lubaale Mukasa, testified before the Commission of Enquiry on behalf of the Bataka. Half a century earlier, Mackay had observed that Kabaka Mutesa seemed to be cowed by Guggu's predecessor and always complied with his demands. Guggu did not describe himself as the heir of a powerful spiritual position, however. He told the Commissioners,

> I am Guggu, the principal mutaka of the Sesse islands. I was in possession of three islands but I was not given a single one....All these islands were taken possession of by the Late Gabunga Yosiya Kasozi. He turned me out of them at the time of the miles.[21]

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[20]Guludene, ESA, SMP 6902, page 56.

[21]Commission, Guggu, 384.

He said, not only had he not gotten any of his own land, but he also had not been compensated in land for his work teaching Lusesse and Swahili to Sir Harry Johnston. However, the Regents challenged his definition of himself as a mutaka; they said the islands had belonged to the Lubaale Mukasa, and when Christianity was introduced "the heathen customs of 'lubale' died out, and consequently this Mutaka Guggu naturally lost all his importance and power which he merely possessed on account of being a priest of 'Lubale' Mukasa."[22]

What did the Bataka community intend by calling as a witness one of the most spiritually powerful figures in 19th century Buganda? Guggu had lost a large amount of valuable land, and so he could support the general case the Bataka were attempting to make about land alienation. But Guggu had been a fundamentally significant member of the old order because of his spiritual responsibilities, not because he had controlled large amounts of land before 1900. His former spiritual power was entirely elided in his own speech and that of others on his side. Was this because the spiritual power of Balubaale could no longer be spoken of in public, or because it did not matter? The Regents and also the Kabaka claimed that land dedicated to Lubaale had been given to the chiefs as mailo because no one still believed in the power of Lubaale. This was not entirely true, however. In Mawokota, land dedicated to the Lubaale Kibuka in Mawokota had been assigned as mailo to members of the lineage responsible for Kibuka's shrine.[23]

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[22]Commission, Yosiya Sajabi Semugala, 385.

[23]Commission: Daudi Chwa, 592; Apolo Kaggwa, 513; Daudi Basudde, 440. Welbourn notes that the statement that the new oligarchy suppressed worship of the old gods "is frequently made but difficult to substantiate from documentary evidence" cites Kaggwa's

Furthermore, the entire case demonstrated that people cared deeply about meanings expressed in land that became mailo: acquiescence had not implied consent. It is possible that Guggu was included in the case because the Bataka believed Guggu's presence offered some kind of admonishment to the Regents. The presence of an important Ganda spiritual figure among the complainants, a group led by educated elite Christians, suggests that the transition from Lubaale worship to new religions was not as abrupt as has been supposed.

The Inappropriate Exercise of Power

In addition to asking for the return of power and authority to those who had lost it, the leaders of the case against mailo also criticized the ways that power was exercised in the new Buganda. Complaints about the functioning of the Lukiko and suggestions for its reform were one focus of these statements. People wanted more people to speak in the Lukiko, and more people's ideas to matter in decision-making.

In their appeal to the Kabaka, the Bataka community explained that mailo had ruined Buganda because the Regents did too much on their own without consulting other chiefs, "arrogating to themselves the power of distribution which had been put in the hands of the full Lukiko."[24] Fewer people participated in the Lukiko as chiefship was rationalized following the 1900 Agreement, and fewer points of view were acknowledged. The masiga bataka wrote that during the allocation of miles "the Bataka were deprived of

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son, Mr. Kwalya Kaggwa, stating that the Lukiko used the mailo allocation to suppress balubale, 218.

[24]6/2/1922 Appeal, paragraph 15.

their native lands and their honour scattered to any one who got miles whereas he is not a Mutaka and we disappeared."[25] In another letter they elaborated, "we the natural Bataka, were driven away from the Lukiko, we had no voice or any one to intercede for us."[26] Even the Saza chiefs who continued to be members of the Lukiko did not have the capacity to make decisions which went against the Regents, as the Kangawo Samwiri Mukasa testified:

> The lukiko appointed three Representatives to inquire and settle various claims and grievances but you did not listen to the decisions of these Representatives, but you did everything by virtue of your powers, and you put the Lukiko down under your feet. We had a Lukiko, but it was not a Lukiko in reality.[27]

The Bataka wanted people to occupy the positions of authority they had previously occupied, and to participate in discussions and in cases in the way they had participated in the past.

The problem the Bataka community members had experienced in finding someone to represent their concerns in the Lukiko became apparent as they made their case before the Commission. Several witnesses described the failure of their clan's attempts to reclaim clan land, but questioning by Kaggwa revealed that the actual mutaka of that clan was someone quite content with mailo, whose actions were troubling to clan relatives. For example, Zedi Zirimenya described how Ngo clan leaders had been prevented from

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[25] Masiga Bataka to Governor, 1/8/1922. The Masiga Bataka, including Yuda Musoke and Malaki Masajakawa began to write independently to Protectorate officials, in long, intricate impassioned Luganda, starting in August, 1922.

[26] 20/12/1922, Masiga Bataka to Chief Secretary, ESA, SMP 6902.

[27] Commission, Samwiri Mukasa, 492.

burying on the clan butaka. Kaggwa asked him "Are you yourself the successor of Kamiri Magezi?", and he admitted that his younger brother was the heir. When Kaggwa asked whether the heir was claiming the butaka Zirimenya replied "If he has sold this butaka land to you, we the members of our clan council will institute an action against him." Kaggwa asked to see his letter of authority to speak for his brother, to which Zirimenya replied "there are some good people and some bad ones; and as soon as I heard about this matter I came at once."[28]

Leaders of lineage networks, who had served as the public voice for their clans or branches of clans, faced pressure from the Regents to place their loyalties with the central power in the Kingdom, and not with their relatives.[29] After the original case in front of the Kabaka in 1922, the Katikirro Apolo Kaggwa attempted to undermine the bataka community by demanding that the heads of each clan sign a paper saying they gave permission for their members to participate in the case against mailo. No one would be allowed to make a complaint unless he could produce a signed permission from the head of his clan. Kaggwa also succeeding in imprisoning Prince Yosiya Kyamagwa for forgery, because he had signed a document on behalf of the Abalangira (clan of princes), even though he was not Sabalangira (head of the Princes). The "princes of Abamasiga" wrote a letter to the Kabaka "to certify that he [Kyamagwa] is representing them on the side of the

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[28]Commission, Zedi Zirimenya, 358-9.

[29]The Assistant Secretary of Native Affairs Scott stated in March of 1922 that the Government had to decide whether to support "the junior members of the Clans as against some of their nominal heads," as the clan heads appeared to have "deliberately" done nothing in the case. Minute 20/3/1922, SMP 6902.

Bataka, because the Sabalangira, who would be their representative, had joined the Batongole who plundered the Butaka of Bataka who had no voice at that time." Their attempt to create a new form of legitimate representation for themselves failed and he was convicted.[30] Two years later, Prince Kyamagwa, out of prison, accused Kaggwa of desecrating the jawbone shrine of Kabaka Tebendeke.

Arguing about the History of Power in Buganda

While British listeners thought they were listening to a case about ownership of graveyards, the participants argued with each other about the nature of power in Buganda in the past. Kaggwa described the absolute power of Kabakas; the Bataka community claimed Kabakas had balanced competing interests by favoring one party and then another. Kaggwa claimed that Kabakas had taken land (and power) from clans and that clans had been forced to comply; the Bataka claimed that land allocations had never been permanent, and those who lost land (and power) could hope to reclaim it at a later date. Kaggwa divided Buganda into the rulers at the center and the ruled; the Bataka community expected many different kinds of people, in various locations in the kingdom, to be powerful.

Both groups identified the upheaval of the late nineteenth century as a fundamental turning point: the bataka insisted that the intention of the 1900 Agreement was to return the social order to what it had been before that time:

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[30]14/12/1922 Masiga Bataka to Governor, ESA SMP 6902. Unfortunately, documents describing this case have been removed from SMP 6902 in Entebbe, all that remains in the file is the transmittal slip.

> when the Mailo distribution took place the Lukiko knew, of course, that the late religious civil wars, had mixed all the people's Butaka lands, and when the Government gave the chiefs and the Bataka the share of 8000 square Miles he ordered the Lukiko to go very carefully into its allotment relying upon the fact that the distributors being Baganda would know better to whom belonged the real Butaka, and would not fail to settle everybody's claims satisfactorily.[31]

Land needed to be returned to those who had it before "our native country was mingled in many ways which are not comprehensible" in the exchanges of the 1890s.[32] The bataka community wanted a return to the patterns of land occupation, and the patterns of diffuse, overlapping authority, that people remembered from before that tumultuous time.

Kaggwa and Mugwanya claimed that the Bataka community could not blame the Regents for changing the customs of Buganda, "since the country was already in a state of chaos due to the Civil Wars, change of the Kabakas and other circumstances." They specifically stated in their own defense that the mailo allocation had expressed a new order of power, "the allotment of land at that time was not subject to the native custom of the clan system of Buganda, but was mainly for the benefit of the principal chiefs." They claimed, however, that their actions in making the mailo allocation had restored butaka to the clans, "It was only the Lukiko which took into consideration the system of butaka land tenure when the allotment of land was being made, and revived this ancient custom which had become obsolete due to the Civil Wars which were then raging in the country brought

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[31]6/2/1922 Appeal, para 3.

[32]1/8/1922, Masiga Bataka to Chief Secretary ESA SMP 6902.

about by the religious frictions."[33] The relatively small estates allotted to be the principal clan land for each main clan were, according to Kaggwa and Mugwanya, a sufficient acknowledgement of the presence of clans in a new political order.

The essence of the Regents' defense in the case against mailo was that the absolute power which the victorious chiefs had drawn to themselves in the 19th century upheavals and in their collaboration with the British was actually the Kabaka's power. "The Kabaka had power to give or deprive any butaka land, and to create any chieftainship or discharge anyone from his chieftainship, and to kill any people, chiefs, or bataka, or to raid them." Mailo was merely the newest manifestation of a normal Ganda practice:

> it was the usual custom for the Kabaka to change about people's butaka land and give it to other people; following this custom the Regents in the name of the Kabaka distributed all estates among the chiefs and people whether butaka or not.[34]

The Regents' letter to the Kabaka told the whole history of Buganda in terms of land being taken from "bataka" and given to "chiefs," "warriors," and other clients of kings. This remembered history did not portray any compromises, or any accommodation of one interest against another, or any sense that figures below the Kabaka took any action but submission. "The Kabaka had every power to do whatever he liked with any kind of land."[35]

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[33] Kaggwa, Mugwanya et al to Kabaka Daudi Chwa, 30/3/1922, addendum to Commission, 582. Daudi Basudde insisted when questioned by Mugwanya that the"things which took place in 1892 or 1893" were irrelevant to the case, and he would only answer questions about what happened in 1900. Commission, Basudde, 489.

[34]Kaggwa, Mugwanya et al to Chwa, 18/3/1922, ESA SMP 6902.

[35]Commission, Apolo Kaggwa, 580.

The Bataka community acknowledged the power of the Kabaka, but emphasized the flexibility which that power gave him. They expressed alarm that mailo had undermined the power of the Kabaka, because it removed his capacity to shape the hierarchy of the country by re-allocating land. Arguing with Kaggwa about what had compelled the Regents to give up their own estates to take others, Aligizanda Mude explained how things should have been done in 1900,

> They [the estates of the Katikiro] would have belonged to the Kabaka, and the Kabaka would have given them away as he liked since it was the Kabaka who gave away land...The Kabaka would have distributed land in his power and according to his discretion. ..he would have given to every one land which he deserved; but he would not have allowed any one to deprive another person of his estate."[36]

Jemusi Biriko pointed out that reigning Kabakas had demonstrated their authority by creating new ebitongole chiefships, but mailo meant that Kabakas would have no way of showing their power. Kaggwa and the other leading chiefs now owned the land that the Kabaka would have allocated to make new chiefships.[37]

The most cogent evidence of the lost power of the Kabaka, in Ganda symbolic terms, were the complaints about the Kibuga. "We also want our Native Kibuga to be returned back to you; that is to say, the Kibuga to be Kabaka's property, as it used to be

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[36]Commission, Aligizanda Mude, 338.

[37]Commission, Jemusi Biriko, 378."All the Kabaka's estates had already been taken away from [him] and given to other people, such as the estates in Kisalosalo, and Kibulusi and Kiwuliriza; and the whole of the Kibuga had been divided up among them. The counties had been divided into two parts, one part consisting of the official estates of the Saza Chiefs and the other part the private estates of the Chiefs, whereas in the old days the whole of the County consisted one form of land tenure and that was the official estates of the Native Government."

long ago."[38] The rebuilding of the capital every few years had enabled the kabaka to state the current order of power in the physical placement of the compounds of his chiefs in the Kibuga. Now, chiefs owned parts of the Kibuga as very profitable private property. When the Kabaka left the issue of the Kibuga out of his original decision, the Bataka community insisted that the Kabaka controlling the Kibuga was an integral part of their case.[39]

The Bataka community asserted that the redistribution of land in 1900 was not at all like the past because it was fixed and permanent, and people who lost had no hope of redress. Daudi Basudde explained

> The old method [of Kabakas seizing butaka land] did not matter so much since one could always have hope of being able to regain his butaka land by appealing to the kabaka; but this new method of depriving the bataka of their butaka lands brought about by the "mailo" system is absolutely final.[40]

Arguing about the Ganda Social Order

In the mailo case, conflict over the appropriate forms and expressions of authority often centered on how many different kinds of people ought to speak and be heard in discussions of public affairs. Kaggwa divided Buganda into those who had power and those who did not; Bataka insisted many ranks of people in authority had linked but largely autonomous responsibilities, which they were no longer being allowed to carry out. Contemporaneous and later observers have perceived these comments as proof of animus against Apolo Kaggwa, but every statement that criticizes Kaggwa's imperiousness also

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[38]"Further Resolution...", Miti to Governor 1/3/1922, ESA SMP 6902.

[39]Mugema et al to Governor 30/5/1922, ESA SMP 6902.

[40]Commission, Daudi Basudde, 352.

names the alternative voices of authority that had been wrongly silenced. In their original appeal to the Kabaka, the Bataka accused the Regents of turning the Lukiko into a body of only three members, and the supplement to that document describes Kaggwa negating the authority of those who were not at the center. They wrote that in response to the first mention of the case against mailo in the Lukiko, Kaggwa

> started to disregard us and he shouted at us, then he started making us into two Classes; one class consisted of those who were not "Abekitibwa" [people of honor] and the other of those who were of Ekitibwa [honor]. Why should the Katikiro do like this as though he was the accusing, whereas he was the accused and he had no power to treat us in such a way.[41]

They complained that the Katikiro was "spoiling everything in this whole country," by taking sides in clan disputes, and

> When the Gombolola chiefs some time ago decided to have a meeting of their own he called them rebels, We Bataka, when we had a meeting trying to put our country in a right way, he called us rebels...and these whom he calls Abakopi are the people from whom he robbed the Butaka lands.[42]

In his questioning of Bataka witnesses, Kaggwa did divide people into categories of those with honor and those without.[43] (Refer to Twaddle, Bakungu chiefs article, for his attempt to make a house of lords) For example, he asked one witness, "If you did not receive any allotment of miles, how could you have come before the Lukiko to complain?" Yokana Lubanda replied "That is the very weapon with which you used to beat us, as soon as we

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[41]6/2/1922 Appeal, para 13; Further resolution re Bataka Question, 1/3/22, para 17, ESA Smp 6902 .

[42]Ibid, para. 18.

[43]Twaddle "Bakungu Chiefs."

stood up in the Lukiko--just as I am standing up now--you would speak to us roughly and order us not to speak again."[44] Kaggwa's extremely authoritarian rule, like Mwanga's weakness, undoubtedly had structural dimensions that have been perceived as dimensions of his personality. Kaggwa was attempting to mediate between the British colonizers, seeking to impose a singular, centralized power, and Ganda leaders, who expected to maintain more diffuse forms of authority and responsibility. Ganda experienced him as utterly domineering, but British officials were also frustrated by his ability to make things happen in ways they might not have wished.

The Bataka complained that Kaggwa did not allow the saza chiefs to act in the interests of their people. Joswa Kate Mugema testified that he had to make mailo allocations, even though he did not approve, because another Saza Chief had been severely reprimanded for having refused to allow people to take up estates that the Lukiko had assigned to them.[45] A widely distributed letter written by Yuda Musa Musoke and Lutwama explained that Kaggwa himself was

> responsible for the mismanagement of affairs in it [the Lukiko] by not allowing any members to express their own opinion and by intimidating them and treating them with insolence, with the result that the Kabaka's officials become like the women under the Katikkiro's own power and influence. After this is it then becomes easy for him to have his own way particularly as much [many] chiefs who feel afrightened of him side with him. The effect of this being that all members of the Lukiko being judicious have no choice but to suppose [support?] him.[46]

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[44]Commission, Apolo Kaggwa and Yokana Lubanda, 415.

[45]Commission, Joswa Kate Mugema, 473.

[46]Miti, 1080, citing letter from Lutwama and Musoke against the Young Baganda Association, 18/4/22.

A group of clan elders who had been unsuccessful in regaining their land through the Lukiko, despite the support of their saza chief and the Kabaka, wrote to the Kabaka: "We are very afraid your Highness Kabaka will lose your power for this one man! Katikiro is the head of the Lukiko, but he is powerful over all and does not allow any chief who comes from other Sazas to say anything, he shouts at him."[47] The bataka complaint in the case against mailo was not only that important locations of power had been lost, but also that those people who continued to have a place in the new order--such as the saza chiefs --had lost their power to the Katikiro.

Both the Bataka and the Regents expressed their perceptions of what was wrong--or right--about power in the new Buganda in stories that had to do with the writing on land certificates. According to some of the masiga bataka, the most powerful chiefs had told people applying for mailo to write "this is my old butaka land" on their applications. This was wholly wrong, the masiga bataka complained, because the land they were asking for had not been their butaka, it had been land they received because they were chiefs. Naming the land in the wrong way, in writing on the certificate, subverted the authority of the Kabaka, who ought to have been able to give the land out as he chose. It also detracted from the station of the true bataka. They wanted all the land certificates with the inscription "this is my old butaka land" to be changed to read "this is my old chieftainship land."[48] Their complaint about the writing on land certificates encapsulated many of the

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[47]Yokana Mitawana to Daudi Chwa, 21/7/1924, ESA SMP 6902.

[48]Masiga Bataka to Governor, 1/8/1922 ESA SMP 6902; Commission, Serwano Kiyaga, 470-1; Zakayo Semakade, 366-7.

arguments in the bataka case against mailo: the new order had deprived essential figures of their place; it had undermined the Kabaka's ability to regulate and shape his kingdom, and it had caused people who held power to wield it in an arbitrary and unjust manner, which they would not have done if they feared the Kabaka could remove them by giving the land and position to someone else.

Kaggwa and Mugwanya, like the Bataka community, explained the fundamental meaning and consequences of mailo with a story about what was supposed to be written on land certificates. The Regents defended themselves by saying that the Lukiko's power to give out land came from the 1900 Agreement, and that the allocations "were quite valid in law and were approved and recognized by the British Government." In their story about the change that came with writing on land certificates, the legitimacy of all the remembered relationships that had explained land allocation in the past had been specifically disavowed. Instead, at the instructions of the British Protectorate, legitimate authority to grant land was to reside in the Lukiko. According to Kaggwa and Mugwanya, chief Jemusi Kisule Kajugujwa had written on his claim for mailo "This estate is my butaka land, it was given to me by Kabaka Mawanda!" The British Government authorities refused to approve the land allocation because the chief had claimed the land from the time of a Kabaka living xx centuries earlier. The Protectorate authorities told the chief to make a new inscription on the top of the certificate: "This is my Butaka land, given to me by the Lukiko!"[49] Apolo Kaggwa and Stanislaus Mugwanya argued that the changes brought by the British had been beneficial, and that the mailo allocation followed

[49]Kaggwa and Mugwanya to Daudi Chwa, 1st letter, 571-2.

Ganda custom. They claimed that the Regents had acted in the name of the Kabaka, giving the land to powerful chiefs as Kabakas had always done in the past; that Lukiko and saza chiefs had contributed to the decision making process; and that the mailo allocation had actually restored the status of bataka that had been confused by the civil war. Kaggwa and Mugwanya complained that the Bataka really wanted to undermine the power of the leading chiefs: "it [the case against mailo] has been brought up solely to bring into ridicule and contempt the lawful power which was conferred upon your Ministers during their Regency."[50]

People Turning into Things: Private Land Ownership as Enslavement

The Bataka community argued that mailo land turned people into slaves. This strong and evocative accusation might seem to have been calculated to evoke the sympathy of European observers, as rescuing Africa from slavery was one of the rationalizations for British empire taught to Africans in school. In the case against mailo, however, the Bataka complainants used the image of enslavement to identify significant aspects of life in the new Buganda that they could not accept. Most concretely, they stated that the mailo allocation enslaved people because it prevented them from carrying out the rituals essential to social reproduction. In a more general sense, people with power were not treating their subordinates in an appropriate way: people were enslaved when land owners treated the land they owned as a means to make a profit, and ceased to show concern for its residents.

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[50]18/3/1922, Kaggwa, Mugwanya et al to Daudi Chwa, p. 578.

A popular song about Mugema expressed the sentiment that associated mailo with slavery: "Buto-dene bagenze Entebbe okutunda abana" (the men with paunches have gone to Entebbe to sell their children).[51] The song refers to the signing of the 1900 Agreement: the "men with paunches" were the Regents and Saza chiefs who benefitted from the creation of private property in land, an action which "sold their children." The Bataka called themselves "slaves of those who took our lands" in their appeal to the Kabaka to hear the case in 1922. This document elaborates the connection of mailo land and enslavement:

> Our graves are being removed from their places where they were laid for generations in case the present owner of the land feels inclined to exercise his power which is just like that of a tyrannous conqueror exercises against those whom he has conquered. All our children for whom from time ever immemorial we used to keep our Butaka lands and live happy, are now suffering through this bad attitude which is spoiling all our customs and power on our hereditary lands. Our children are now being sold along with the land as part of it. Whereas we in accordance with our Butaka lands being held communally, possessed our own share of the land in our respective clan and each head of a clan used to treat all his relatives as his children and likewise they in turn called him their father, and nothing of the present landless class ever existed.[52]

As everyone in Buganda in the 1920s had access to land as tenants, the term "landless class" may have implied people who, as we have seen in Chapter 5, were experiencing

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[51]Welbourn, 19, note 217. It is probably anachronistic to associate the song with Mugema's refusal to sign the Buganda Agreement in 1900: the awareness that mailo was different than other instances of land re-allocation dawned slowly, and also it was not apparent that Europeans would receive any land until years later. It is more likely that the song expressed popular dissatisfaction with mailo that culminated in the 1920s case.

[52]6/2/1922 Appeal to the Kabaka, paragraph 6 (entire).

diminished access to the forms of protection and sustenance which they had experienced in the past.

The accusation that mailo caused enslavement had specific meanings regarding connections between the members of a lineage group, and between rulers and ruled. Lazalo Byuma Seryenvu explained to the Commission of Enquiry that Hamu Mukasa, the Sekibobo (Saza chief of Kyagwe), had obtained the butaka of the Njovu clan: at first his clan members thought he was saving the land for the clan, because it had appeared that their clan land would be marked for the Kabaka, but then the Sekibobo "marked out his own miles on these estates in the name of Hamu Mukasa." As a consequence, "he converted all these bataka whom he had deprived of their butaka land into his private tenants, and those who refused to become his private men had to leave their butaka land" and become "private tenants" on other people's land. This transition in status was not linked to slavery: the people who lost their status as land controllers became "servants" not slaves. Seryenvu said that the Mutaka called Sentemero "became the Sekibobo's servant and carried the Sekibobo's coffee up to the time of his death." However, because the clan did not have access to the butaka, they had been unable to perform the appropriate rituals on the death of the mutaka, and the inability to perform olumbe had turned the children into slaves. "Up to the present day the funeral rites in connection with the burial of this Mutaka have not yet been performed, as his children have no place where they can gather together and perform them, since they have now become just like slaves and outcasts."[53]

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[53]Commission, Lazalo Byuma Seryenvu, 485-7.

The burial of clan elders in the appropriate clan burial grounds named a family and maintained the links between people and their ancestors. People whose elders could not be buried with the appropriate attention in the appropriate palace were people who had no family--they were outcasts and slaves. The olumbe ceremony, which transferred a person's living status to his heir and confirmed his place among the dead, was so important that some bataka chose to give up the possibility of owning mailo in order to remain on the land that contained their graves. Yona Magera received butaka, but continued to press for the return of the burial place of the principal mutaka of the clan. Saulo Lugwisa testified that he had had to bury his father "in the jungle" because he had not been allowed to bury on the proper butaka, and Zedi Zirimenya had faced the same horrible dilemma, carrying the body of an elder to his correct burial place, only to be turned away by the steward of the mailo owner.[54] The bataka community complaint that mailo owners had behaved like conquerors--who took captives away from their own people and turned them into slaves--because to be deprived of graves was to be deprived of the means of maintaining essential social connections.

Mailo land also turned people into slaves because the appropriate relationships between land controllers and land receivers were distorted when land could be bought and sold. In their statement "our children are now being sold along with the land as part of it" the bataka described the commodification of social relationships that had occurred over the past twenty years along with the commodification of land. "Tyrannous conquerors" did

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[54]Commission, Valanta Batanude for Yona Magera, 361; Saulo Lugwisa, 448; Zedi Zirimenya, 357-8, also Antwani Kikuzi, 425.

not show any concern for the social place of the people they conquered, and land owners also acted in their own interest without concern for others. According to the Bataka community, private property in land was the cause of the problem. They argued that the mailo allocation, which allowed people to profit from land, had transformed the relationships of mutual obligation and concern they remembered from the past into the selfishness of the present. For the bataka, the negative emotional atmosphere that had been created was a serious concern.

The Bataka community based their argument about the erosion of social connections on explicit statements of how things were supposed to be: rulers would take care of the people underneath them, and people would trust and obey their superiors. The head of a clan "used to treat all his relatives as his children and likewise they in turn called him their father."[55] They claimed that chiefs participated as juniors in the relationships of mutual obligation that were described in familial terms: "even the Katikiro or any other Chief is always considered to be the sons of some Mutaka of a clan...when they become chiefs in this way they do not despise their fathers the Bataka from whom they descend."[56]

The Bataka community acted on their assumptions about the relationship of people to rulers in the ways that announced their expectation of parental care from the Protectorate and their own obedient, grateful response. In August 1922 the masiga bataka wrote "we hope that the Government can not be angry to every poor person who is in

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[55]Bataka Land Holding Question, 5.

[56]Commission, Luisi Majwega, 370. See also Basudde and Kaggwa, 540.

their protection," and two months later, they said "we beg to ask your pardon, and not to get angry with us for writing you again and again, but we know that the Government is the FATHER of Buganda Country...." The Bataka solidified their claims to protection by being explicitly deferential and grateful. Their letters always included an apology for their mistakes. When the Masiga Bataka eventually got (a rather frosty) answer to their long epistles from the Secretariat, they thanked the Governor for his "kind and reasonable answer...which made us happy in our hearts," and six days later wrote again, "we were very glad on receiving your information that you are now examining our case, gently, and with care...we, the natural Bataka of Buganda are filled with joy in our hearts, because our points have been regarded...."[57]

The bataka community tried to explain that the right kind of social interactions had been embodied in Ganda land tenure in the past. The words they chose in English, such as 'communally held' land, or land 'held in trust', 'subject to the performance of his social and political obligations' were an attempt to express the social dimensions of the Ganda system. In Buganda, providing land to people who needed it to grow food for themselves was a moral obligation, and mutual benefit accrued when people worked for chiefs and chiefs provided for them in ways that caused them to want to stay on the land. The Bataka community claimed that land had not been a means of advancing oneself over others in the past by noting that people "paid no attention whatever to details but were content to leave everything to be arranged by their chiefs as was their custom because the chiefs were at

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[57]Yosef Yuda M. Mukasa and Malaki Musajakawa et al to Governor, 29/9/1922, 1/8/1922, 14/12/1922, 20/12/1922.

that time the tribe, the personal embodiment of it all."[58] In the Bataka community's explanation of the past, the interests of chiefs and people had always been in harmony.

According to the Bataka community in their original appeal to the Kabaka, the mailo allocation had caused a rise of self interest and the decline of reciprocity which was fundamentally destructive for Buganda:

> on account of the Regents misusing this Agreement through their mere intention of getting land to which they were not entitled to, they upset everything and as the results of that mistake caused the present ill feeling which exists amongst our people as a whole."

They wrote specifically and forcefully about the emotional, relational consequences of land tenure changes. The good customs which had been "destroyed" were "our good customs of helping and loving each other." It was the lack of those relationships of concern for others that made people feel they were "under a form of Government which we cannot understand." The attitude of land owners caused enslavement, "All our children... are now suffering through this bad attitude which is spoiling all our customs and power on our hereditary lands. Our children are now being sold along with the land."[59]

Statements which indicate the central importance of emotional connections appear throughout the case against mailo. The Bataka community asked the Kabaka to resolve the problem because "we cannot help keeping evil thoughts" and "should Your Highness, not find any means of settling up this question, our ill feelings shall never come to an end,

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[58] Buganda Land Holding Question, 4-5; 6/2/1922 Appeal, paragraphs 6, 2.

[59] 6/2/1922 Appeal.

although we shall feel as if we had committed an offence against your Highness."[60] In their supplement to the original appeal to the Kabaka, they wrote

> We therefore ask Your Highness to see that the Katikiro does not disregard us because he has the power of Katikiro; we also want you to understand that we are tired of him because he has done no good in this Country, and we are therefore not pleased; He also does not care for us.[61]

Even the Bataka community's communications with the Home Office explained the butaka problem as causing "endless ruinous litigations and disquietude all over the country."[62]

Reciprocity, social intentions, and the obligation to care for others were also the basis of the Regents' public attack on the Bataka for a Baganda audience. The association created in opposition to the Bataka community called people to a public meeting saying the Bataka community had no good motivations, but were "only jealous and selfish, and wish to become 'Abekitibwa', and by so doing they only throw away the freedom of Buganda." The purpose of their organization would be to ensure that "the Bataka do not turn out Chiefs from their Mailos who have done much good for the Country... whereas the Bataka never did any good for the Country and what the Bataka can do is sit down."[63] One of the most highly charged moments of the Commission of Enquiry came when Stanislaus Mugwanya examined Daudi Basudde and accused him of seeking pecuniary benefit. He asked Basudde "Of those people for whom you have undertaken this case, is

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[60]6/2/1922 Appeal, para 7.

[61]Further resolution re Bataka Question, 1/3/1922, Miti to Governor, ESA SMP 6902.

[62]undated, after 26/1/1923, to Secretary of State for the Colonies, ESA SMP 6902.

[63]11/3/1922, Association for the Maintaining of Uganda Land Law Public Notice. ESA SMP 6902.

there no person who can give you even one Shilling?" Mugema and Samwiri Mukasa, the two Bataka supporters with the status of saza chiefs, became livid at Mugwanya for speaking about money.[64]

In the statements of the Bataka community, those who used land as a means of obtaining profit were people who failed to be concerned for people on the land. The original appeal to the Kabaka accused the Regents, who "own now hundreds of square miles," including misappropriated butaka, of being "prepared to sell to foreigners at any time." They specifically linked the sale of butaka, which were "really being sold up to now," with the rejection of standards of reciprocity by the land-owning chiefs, "who are interested in selling and buying all the land on account of their wealth which is derived from us through their salaries and so forth." A further evidence of their violation of Ganda patterns of interaction was their refusal to discuss the issue: "they do not even want to hear a single word appertaining on the subject. They merely trample on it." They claimed that the 1918 transfer scheme to redeem butaka did not succeed because of "profiteering" by land owners.[65] As the case dragged on with no resolution after the Commission of Enquiry, the Bataka appealed to the Protectorate to do something because the Lukiko was encumbered by self-interest. They cited the the onerous Nvujo law, a conversion of tribute to rent, originally drafted by the Lukiko as twenty percent of the value of cash crops. According to the Bataka, the Lukiko "looked upon the question as money making scheme by which they are themselves benefitted and have not considered the evils and difficulties

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[64]Commission, Stanislaus Mugwanya, 489.

[65]6/2/1922 Appeal, para 5, 10, 11.

this Nvujo brings to bear upon the peasants."[66] Powerful people who followed good customs, the Bataka community implied, would not have taken actions that were so harmful to people on the land.

The Possibility of New and Old Together

The people who made the case against mailo warned the Kabaka that "this friction may remain for generations unless your Highness hears and settles this friction" and they suggested a resolution: "to put each and every individual back within his old boundaries known up to the present day." The simplicity of their solution--to restore every controller of land according to the description of clan estates in Apolo Kaggwa's Ebika bya Buganda--may have contributed to the accusation that the proposals of the Bataka were "retrograde" and "increasingly impracticable under the conditions of 20th century life and progress."[67] However, the Bataka community themselves deliberately asserted that their goals were not incompatible with the positive aspects of the new order in Buganda. Many of them were "new" men who received salaries from the Protectorate, participated in church leadership, and marked their status in the forms of the new culture of consumption. Several of them had obtained the highest possible levels of education for themselves or their children. They clearly articulated what they considered to be the failures of the current order, but they asked for reform, not a return to the past. Their own statements about their intentions, and the explanations they provided to Protectorate officials about

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[66] 26/4/1926 Jemusi Miti for the Bataka community to Governor, ESA SMP 6902.

[67] 6/2/1922 Appeal to the Kabaka, paras 7, 12; Minute of J. de G. Delmege, Acting P.C., after 27/5/1926.

how they would implement a return of clan lands, define the possibility of a modern Buganda built on the foundation of good Buganda customs. The Bataka community envisioned a Buganda in which powerful, effective rulers demonstrated concern for people, in which people controlled amounts of land that were not excessively large, and in which rulers and ruled acted on assumptions of reciprocity. They did not see any inherent contradiction between these things and land title, European law, and the new patterns of life which they practiced without any comment.

The Baganda community placed their complaint about mailo in the context of the sufferings of colonized Africans, "we are confronted with many problems which are almost unbearable but of which we do not loudly complain," and their loyalty notwithstanding, "we Africans in all parts of the continent are rigorously loyal to our British King, and His local representatives wherever they may be."[68] They explained in their letter informing the Protectorate of the creation of the Bataka community (translated in the Secretariat as Buganda (National) Federation of Bataka) that change was a good thing but it needed to be gradual and built on the past:

> In creating this league we are not actuated by a desire to rush our country forward but a) to provide for it a sound foundation from which it can go forward slowly [and] b) to go into the matter of this wrong while our elders who made the 1900 agreement are still with us for later when they have gone it will be difficult for the younger generation to settle these differences.[69]

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[68]Baganda Land Holding Question, 3.

[69]Daudi Basudde and Josef Yuda M. Mukasa, 15/5/1922 to Chief Secretary, ESA SMP 6902.

The Bataka community wanted the progress of Buganda to happen slowly, and to be based on the knowledge of the generation that remembered life before colonial rule.

The leaders of the case against mailo wanted rulers to be powerful and to act with justice. In their response to questions from the Protectorate about how a return of mailo might be implemented, the Bataka community described the ultimate authority they expected clan heads to wield over clan members: "Only the heads of the clan community will be allowed to lodge any claim of his clan butaka lands and to allow everybody to come and plead for himself, that is to say the head of clan community will represent the claims of his clan members."[70] The Attorney General's notes of a discussion with Daudi Basudde also suggest that the Bataka community anticipated that the authority of the Kabaka which had been undermined by the rise of powerful chiefs would also be re-established when judgement in the case went against those chiefs. According to the Attorney General, Daudi Basudde had positively asserted that "with the success of proceedings in respect to one or two of the most notorious instances of expropriation the holders of other threatened lands would promptly hand over their estates to the claimants."[71] At the highest level, winning the case against mailo would return power to the right places. Lower down, only people who demonstrated appropriate moral behavior would be allowed to rule, unlike the present, when:

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[70] 27/5/1926, "Answers to the questions of the Provincial Commissioner, Discussed by the Executive Committee of the Bataka Community ESA SMP 6902.

[71] "Interview with Representatives of the Bataka Federation with Land Officer and S.L. Abrahams, Attorney General," ESA, SMP 6902.

> people who are totally demoralized (without morals) through crimes and drunkenness, who under native law and customs, could never be tolerated to lead the destinies of the people on the land, in the present case they are left as they are, because they hold personal titles on the land according to Sir H.H. Johnston's benevolent agreement.[72]

The Bataka community wanted well-behaved rulers whose authority was never questioned by their people.

A critical aspect of the Bataka community's view of an alternative order in Buganda was that there was enough land to go around, if everyone had the appropriate amount. They stated in their original appeal "We humbly beg to assure Your Highness that we are not in any way partisans of dislodging our compatriots from their real lands, if they have got any and ultimately acquire them." The extremely large amounts of land taken by the largest land owners had caused land scarcity which otherwise would not have been a problem. The witness for the Fumbe clan said, "I would like this Commission to note this that Gombolola and Miruka Chiefs were allotted as much as 12 to 20 square miles, while the bataka who are considered as the fathers of these chiefs were only given two square miles."[73] Daudi Basudde pointed out that when it was discovered that 1,200 miles remained unallocated, Kaggwa, who already had fifty square miles of private property, was given another twelve, and other large land owners were also given more large allotments. Basudde asked, "Of those 1200 sq. miles, was it right or not to have allotted to

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[72]Baganda Land Holding Question, 30-31.

[73]Commission, Lew Nsobya, 466.

the chiefs [smaller chiefs who received no mailo] some official miles attached to their Chieftainships?"[74]

The Bataka community did not anticipate that land allotted in the appropriate way would ever be exhausted, "If there is no land available on that part of clan land that member will find it on other branches of the clan, and in this, we question very much whether there will be any possibility of having any scarcity of land in this way, as this never happened before in this country."[75] They argued that the needs of Kaggwa and Mugwanya to control large amounts of land to demonstrate the importance of their offices ought to have been met by their obtaining permission from the king to open up new lands. Opening new lands was the Ganda way of solving the problem, "if there were no estates available for him he would have opened up new land, since it is the usual custom for the Katikiro to open up new land."[76] At this moment, the Bataka witness came close to blaming the crisis in Buganda on the colonial power: chiefs could not hope to open new land because colonial demands for workers drained away the necessary labor. Furthermore, there was no more waste land, because the 1900 Agreement allocated it to the British.

Although many of the leaders of the Bataka community functioned successfully in a wage economy, they imagined that relationships between land owners and people on the

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[74]Commission, Daudi Basudde, 524.

[75]27/5/1926, "Answers to the questions of the Provincial Commissioner, Discussed by the Executive Committee of the Bataka Community ESA SMP 6902.

[76]Commission, Aligizanda Mude, 338.

land would not necessarily be mediated by cash. They articulated a revised expectation of reciprocity: if people on the land had a relationship with the land owner that involved kinship ties, which implied protection and assistance, then it was fair to ask them to work without wages. If they had no relationship with the land owner, rent might be an alternative. The spokesman for the Walusimbi, head of the Fumbe clan, explained to the Commission: "The members of my clan residing on my land have definite duties which they perform for me even from the old days and they perform these duties for me still now, so I do not collect rent from them instead of payment of rent they build my house." He added that other people, who were not members of his clan, had settled on his land, and he collected rent from them "unless they agree to work for me in lieu of payment of rent."[77] The extensive work of cutting boundaries to facilitate the survey that would be required to create land certificates for the butaka would not be a problem for the Bataka community, their leaders maintained:

> The Bataka will undertake to cut the boundaries themselves provided they are allowed by the Government to use their sons living on such lands, we see that in so doing there is not any abuse because the work that may be undertaken is for their own behalves and done on their own Butaka lands.[78]

In the view of the Bataka community, connections between people might be expressed through cash, but there was no "abuse" if they were expressed through work and mutual benefit.

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[77]Commission, Lew Nsobya for Walusimbi, 467.

[78]27/5/1926, Answers to Questions of the Provincial Commissioner, Discussed by the Executive Committee of the Bataka Community, ESA SMP 6902.

The leaders of the Bataka community were adamant that they themselves wanted more than the benevolent concern of the owner of the land on which they lived. As land certificates conveyed authority over land in the present, and they held authority over certain lands "from time immemorial," they believed it was essential that they hold the land certificates for those lands. "In these Europeanised days everybody should be confirmed in his real Butaka land."[79] The importance of land certificates to the Bataka was stated clearly in a discussion between Stanislaus Mugwanya and Makamadu Mukasa, a clan relative of Mugwanya's mother. Mugwanya defended himself from the accusation of taking his mother's clan's land, saying "Do you wish my maternal relatives to disown me, have I ever turned you out of your estates; you have always settled quite amicably there and obtained plenty of food." Mukasa replied "The reason why I say that you turned me out of it is because the land certificate in respect of that estate is in your own name."[80]

The Bataka stated that they wanted to preserve individual land tenure, but they rejected the notion that land as property could be detached from social concerns. As they pointed out, in other places private property was subject to restrictions, such as provisions that land could not be executable for debt, or could not be transferred without permission. In Buganda, they wanted a form of private property that acknowledged the rights of clans, so that clans could obtain their lands, and lineages could be protected from the inclination of one of its members to live improvidently and sell land.[81] Their defense of their request

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[79]6/2/1922 Appeal, paragraph 7.

[80]Commission, Stanislaus Mugwanya and Makamadu Mukasa, 418.

[81]Baganda Land Holding Question, 30-1.

for clan lands suggested that the social dimensions of land had more salience for them than its quality of transferability. Miti and others wrote that the British were wrong in thinking that the mailo owners deserved to keep the land because they had improved it: not only had they taken no trouble to develop the land, but they had doubly ignored the social responsibility inherent in control of land, first by collecting rents from tenants without providing anything in return, and secondly by selling the land. The Bataka claimed that their request to have clan land given to them should not have been any more difficult than a transfer from one owner to another. They asked, "How many certificates have been changed from one owner to another in case original owner feels inclined to get money out of his land by means of sale?"[82]

The actions and words of the Bataka community suggested that they envisioned a Buganda that integrated the good customs of the past with the realities of the present. They imagined a Buganda which had both a cash economy and free exchanges of labor and service, both Christianity and the expression of the importance of clan ancestors, both private land ownership and social responsibility. The Ganda leaders who rose to speak against mailo in the 1920s suggested it might have been possible to maintain British protection and re-establish the webs of power which people remembered as just and workable in the past.

Conclusion: Beyond Bakungu vs. Bataka

A much narrower, much less interesting history of the conflict over land in Buganda in the 1920s can be found in a superficial reading of the records of the case. Both

[82]Miti et al to Governor, 26/4/11926, ESA SMP 6902.

the claimants and the defendants participated in the simplification of the issues into Bakungu versus Bataka. Perhaps they expected "bataka" to imply all the forms of authority that had been part of pre-colonial Buganda; perhaps they presented a dichotomy because they did not think their British audience could follow more complex histories. In the heat of the conflict, the debate became intensely polarized: land owners who had been willing to accommodate bataka on their lands began to drive them away, and bataka witnesses usually failed to mention the portion of their clan lands that they had received in the mailo allocation.[83]

Apolo Kaggwa's written defense of the Regents, which included a history of Buganda told entirely in terms of conflict between Bataka and Kabakas in which the Kabakas were always victorious, has been the most significant legacy of the case against mailo for Buganda history.[84] The Bataka community also simplified the Buganda political order into bataka and their opponents who were chiefs appointed by the king, even as they argued that centralized power was not good for the nation. The Bataka constantly invoked the loss of butaka, even when they were speaking about royal land, spirit medium's land, and land given by the king to commemorate a particular relationship. They also spoke about a past in which bataka and kabakas were the only important participants.

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[83]The testimony of Pasikale Bambaga illustrates the polarization of the argument: he failed to acknowledge that the Regents did actually try to allocate land to the clan, but made a mistake, and he also neglected to mention that he received a mailo elsewhere in compensation. However, in their attack on him, the Regents glossed over the kasolya butaka ended up in the wrong hands. See the testimony of Nkuwe, 392, for evidence of the controversy changing the relationship between mailo claimants and land owners.

[84]18/3/1922, "The Lukiko's Reply to the Question of Allotment of Land in Buganda Brought Up by the Bataka," Kaggwa et al to Kabaka Daudi Chwa, Commission, 561-578.

The simplified dichotomy of the public debate of the case against mailo, combined with the gradual erasure from 1891 onward of forms of authority that were neither bataka nor bakungu, crystallized perceptions of the Buganda past. In their summary of the issues in the case, the Commissioners Griffith and Sturrock wrote, "No one else except the Bataka had any right over land in Buganda and in our opinion no one other than the Bataka had any rights infringed when occupied land was converted into the freehold property of a Regent or Chief."[85] It is not surprising that later generations of historians of Buganda have conceptualized its history as a conflict between territorially based clan heads and appointed chiefs who were ultimately victorious.[86]

As we have seen, the Ganda polity was much more complex and more subtly articulated than the model of top layers of bakungu and lower layers of bataka. This system, which can be conceptualized as a web, can be reconstructed from the evidence collected by Roscoe and Kaggwa in 1905, from the explanation of Ganda land tenure produced by Morris Carter in 1911, from the histories of Buganda recorded in the 19th century, and from the witnesses before the Commission of Enquiry whose personal stories revealed layers of complexity. Guggu's presence (not his words) testified to the power over land and people of priests and spirit mediums.[87] The utility and importance of

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[85]Quoted in undated Minute after 26/5/1926, ESA SMP 6902.

[86] Richards, 125; Low, Modern History, 15, 140; Fallers, "Social Stratification,", 98; Wrigley, Kingship, 64: Rowe, Twaddle, "Bakungu Chiefs," 310, 318; David E. Apter, The Political Kingdom in Uganda: A Study in Bureaucratic Nationalism, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961, 99, 102-3. Wright disputes that interpretation, arguing that Ganda clans and the kabakaship were not antagonistic, 209-210.

[87]Commission, Guggu, 385-6.

ebitongole (chiefships created for a particular productive activity) came up in testimony regarding the position of the Kauta, and in complaints about the Kabaka's loss of control over other ebitongole and the Kibuga (capital).[88] The loss of land which had marked a specific remembered relationship with the Kabaka was discussed by several witnesses, who had their land by virtue of the favors they did for the king, but who called themselves bataka during the Commission.[89] Members of the Abalangira, the clan of princes, voiced their complaints as "bataka," but their statements before the Commission never touched on the role of royal women and their male relatives in sustaining and checking the power of a reigning Kabaka.

The perception of the controversy in the 1920s as part of a tradition of conflict between bataka and bakungu obscures the accomplishment of the Ganda thinkers who brought the case against mailo. These Ganda leaders, who called themselves the Bataka community but were actually more diverse, asked for a return of everyone to their former positions. They criticized the overreaching power of the central chiefs, and moved strategically to support the young Kabaka in establishing his authority. When that initial effort failed, they made a sustained critique of colonial power. These people, including Mugema, the chief responsible for making and defending the power of Kabakas, and Miti, the highest ranking muganda in the colonial service. These were leaders of the nation who had in their own careers experienced the loss of Ganda control over the production of wealth and the loss of Ganda political autonomy. They were familiar with Ganda political

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[88]See, for example, testimony on Commission pages 385, 437, 439, 505, 521, 531.

[89]For example, Nkuwe, 388-391; Matayo Serubuzi, 422.

order and practice of power. They articulated their vision of how things could be different by decrying the destruction of customs that facilitated well-being, by calling for a return of diverse forms of authority, by criticizing "enslavement" inherent in commodified social relationships, and by asserting that British overrule could be combined with effective Ganda government as they remembered it.

It was perhaps inevitable that their case ultimately failed (as success would have entailed unravelling the colonial state), but even so it is remarkable that in the 1920s they succeeded in articulating a series of arguments that attracted and maintained the attention and concern of Uganda Protectorate officials and those of the British Government. Ironically, the dichotomized discourse of the case against mailo set the political agenda for Buganda for the following half century; but inside those documents, it is possible to glimpse the complex, multi-layered system that the Bataka leaders remembered when they spoke of "the good customs of Buganda."

EPILOGUE
SNAKE IN THE COOKING POT: THE IMPASSE OF LAND IN BUGANDA

A snake in the cooking pot is an irresolvable dilemma. Kill the snake and the meal is lost because the pot breaks; leave the snake and the meal is lost because the snake spoils the food. Mailo land has been a "snake in the cooking pot" for the entire twentieth century: no resolution to the problem it posed for the Ganda polity could be implemented without destroying things that seemed essential to Buganda. The request for a return of power made explicitly and implicitly in the case against mailo was irresolvable: mailo had inscribed the logic of power and the locations of power that facilitated the colonial state. Giving back the land, and the authority that people wanted along with it, would have exposed the fiction of Ganda self rule. No one acknowledged this dilemma, and from every side, the expectations and intentions raised by the case remained unmet.

For the people who brought the case against mailo, change was impossible because they wanted to maintain their fealty and obedience to the British, and also to re-order power. They continued, for years, to ask politely for the return of their land, then the survivors challenged their energies into more overtly anti-British political activities. The most volatile crises in Ganda politics concerned the issues raised in the case against mailo --control of land, and power of the Kabaka.

For Apolo Kaggwa and the other large land owners, ownership of mailo also entailed a snake in the cooking pot dilemma: they wanted the prestige that control of land had always implied, but they could not maintain that prestige and also use land as a source of profit. The many square-miled land holdings of the larger chiefs could not be sustained. Much of Kaggwa's vast land holdings were sold to pay lawyers for a family quarrel and the drinking debts of his heir, and a generation later a descendant was killed for selling what is now the Kampala neighborhood of Kololo without concern for the people who lived there.

In the years immediately following the case against mailo, Protectorate and Home Office officials vacillated between sympathy for the people who had been unjustly deprived of their land, and concern for the preservation of the order of power inscribed in the allocation of mailo land. For the British Protectorate and Home Office, the case against mailo was an excruciatingly uncomfortable dilemma: they needed the centralized power they had created through Kaggwa, but by the 1920s they did not want him anymore. However, everyone they replaced him with behaved the same way. Kaggwa's very un-Ganda way of being a chief, which silenced alternative points of view, had become the new Ganda "tradition."

The actual resolution of the case against mailo ignored the irresolvable political issues, and addressed the less-emphasized complaint about the deterioration of reciprocity. The Busulu and Nvujo law, forced through the Lukiko by Protectorate authorities in 1927, quantified the tribute paid by people on the land (now tenants) to their landlords, and spelled out the landlords' obligations to tenants. This law thus completed the process of legal commodification of social relationships that had begun with the creation of private

property in land. In neither case did this process of commodification eliminate the social meanings attached to land in Buganda. Mailo meant that people could acquire authority over other people by purchasing land. The Busulu and Nvujo law meant that followers on the land expressed their allegiance through cash payments and not through gifts. Using cash as the medium for exchanges concerning land did not obliterate people's expectations of mutual obligation and reciprocity. One evidence of this is the continuation of busuulu and nvujo, even after inflation made them economically valueless.

Butaka also became commodified. Following the failed struggle to regain clan lands, butaka ceased to mean the burial grounds where lineage elders maintained the connections between living people and their ancestors that ensured well-being. Butaka came to mean land owned by an individual, secured by graves of that person's immediate relatives. Like kusenga and the forms of political order in Buganda, the connections maintained by butaka shrunk dramatically in a the circumstances of a cash economy and colonial power relationships.

GLOSSARY

bakopi - a person who was a receiver in a kusenga relationsip, a peasant
bakungu - chiefs whose authorite came entirely from the Kabaka
bataka - lit, the heads of clans, came to mean the movement of people who criticized mailo allocation in the 1920s
batongole - chiefs in charge of ekitongole
butaka - land where important clan ancestors were buried
ekitongole - chiefship/area of land created for a specific purpose
Kabaka - King
Kago - the Saza chief of Kyadondo, one of the oldest Sazas
Kaima - the Saza chief of Mawokota, a province on the lake
Kangawo - the Saza chief of Bulemezi
Kasolya - the principle butaka land of a clan
Katikiro - the Prime Minister
kibanja - a plot granted by a chief to a follower, its gardens fed one family
Kiimba - the Saza chief of Bugangadzi
kusenga - a relationship of mutual obligation among unequals, in which land and protection were exchanged for loyalty and service
lubaale - spiritual forces with a greater-than-local influence
lukiko - originally the chiefs gathered around the King to pay respect; ca. 1897 became a parliament
mailo - individually owned land, allotted in square miles
Mandwa - spirit medium
matoke - the staple food, a kind of banana
Mengo - capital in the 1860s.
miruka - a very low level chieftainship
mituba, mutuba, a lower branch of the clan structure
Mugema - the Saza chief of Busirro, one of the most powerful chiefs
mutaka - a head of a clan or branch of a clan
Namasole - the Mother of the Kabaka, an extremely powerful political figure
Omuwanika - the treasurer, one of the Regents
saza - a province of the kingdom, ruled by a named Saza chief
Second Katikiro - the Catholic Prime Minister, created after civil wars
ssiga - clan "stem"

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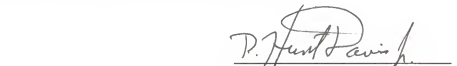

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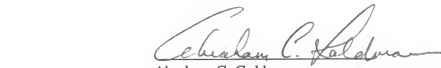

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December, 1997

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